V53-37 SEP 9 36

# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

*A Journal of Religion*

## Can There Be Peace In Palestine?

By Albert Viton

## Is It True What They Say About Dixie?

By Alson Jesse Smith

A God-Guided Dictator
Dr. Ambedkar's Choice
Movies in Russia
*Editorials*

15 Cents a Copy • September 9, 1936 • Four Dollars a Year

## In This Issue

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is minister of Grace Methodist church, Waterbury, Conn. He has recently returned from a study tour through the south as a member of the traveling seminar conducted by the Religion and Labor foundation.

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is general secretary of the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches.

## Coming

A series of articles supporting the leading presidential candidacies in the current campaign. President Roosevelt's reelection will be urged by Stanley High; the election of Governor Landon will be supported by Mr. Charles P. Taft, leader of the younger republicans and close adviser of the republican nominee; the socialist cause will be championed by its standard bearer, Norman Thomas.


# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

September 9, 1936

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

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## Calendar of Coming Events

Sept. 6-11. Seminar of religious leaders, Hotchkiss school, Lakeville, Conn.
Sept. 22. North Minnesota Conference, Methodist Episcopal church, Minneapolis.
Sept. 25-27. National conference on pacifism and religion, Northover camp, Bound Brook, N. J.
Sept. 29. Methodist Episcopal state conference, St. Joseph, Mo.
Sept. 29-Oct. 1. Northern Baptist state convention, Jerome, Idaho.
Sept. 29-Oct. 2. Northern Baptist state convention, Bismarck, N. D.
Sept. 29-Oct. 2. Philadelphia Methodist leadership rallies, with Prof. O. W. Warmingham, Philadelphia.
Oct. 1-3. Northern Baptist state convention, Sparks, Nev.
Oct. 5-7. Northern Baptist state convention, Anoka, Minn.
Oct. 5-7. Wisconsin Congregational annual conference, Eau Clair, Wis.
Oct. 5-8. Northern Baptist state convention, San Jose, Northern Calif.
Oct. 6, 7. Northern Baptist state convention, Dover, N. H.
Oct. 6-8. Northern Baptist state convention, Loveland, Colo.
Oct. 7-11. Northern Baptist state convention, Watertown, S. D.
Oct. 7-11. Northern Baptist state convention, McCook, Nebr.
Oct. 8-10. Tenth biennial congress of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., Columbus, Ohio.
Oct. 12. Evangelical and Reformed synod of the mid-west, Chicago, Ill.
Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Coffeyville, Kans.
Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Charleston, W. Va.
Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Bluffton, Ind.
Oct. 14-16. Northern Baptist state convention, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
Oct. 14-21. Tenth biennial convention of the United Lutheran church, Columbus, O.
Oct. 15. State Sunday school convention, Peterborough, N. H.
Oct. 15-17. Northern Baptist state convention, Hartford, Conn.
Oct. 16. Continuation of state Sunday school convention, Portsmouth, N. H.
Oct. 16-18. Twenty-fifth anniversary Kennedy school of missions, Hartford seminary foundation, Hartford, Conn.
Oct. 18-22. Northern Baptist state centennial, Detroit, Mich.
Oct. 20-22. Northern Baptist state convention, Harrisburg, Pa.
Oct. 20-22. Annual meeting, northern California Congregational conference.
Oct. 21-24. National council of Y.M.C.A., Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati, O.
Oct. 23-25. Northern Baptist state convention, Cincinnati, O.
Oct. 25-28. National preaching mission, Billings, Mont.
Oct. 26-28. Northern Baptist state convention, Atlantic City, N. J.
Oct. 27, 28. Northern Baptist state convention, Newburgh, N. Y.
Oct. 27-29. Northern Baptist state convention, Galesburg, Ill.
Oct. 27-29. Northern Baptist state convention, Haverhill, Mass.

Announcements of coming events to be included in this column should reach the editorial offices of The Christian Century at least four weeks in advance of the date announced. It is the desire of The Christian Century to make this calendar as complete as possible in its inclusion of all important pending events in the religious world.

# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LIII CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 9, 1936 NUMBER 37


## EDITORIAL

### The President's Peace Conference

WIDESPREAD questioning has greeted the announcement that, in the event of his reelection, the President contemplates calling a conference of the heads of great states to discuss peace. This is natural. The indirect and unofficial way in which the news was broken to the public through the columns of a New York paper, and the skepticism of political motives which is so general in an election year, combine to explain the evident hesitation to regard the announcement as of great importance. However, it is hardly wise to minimize any such proposal until a good deal more is known about what the President has in mind than is at present known. No one outside the closest circle of Mr. Roosevelt's advisers has anything except a vague idea of what is contemplated. But suppose, just for the sake of suggesting some of the possibilities, it should develop that what the President plans to do is to invite the states which have signed the Kellogg pact to send delegates to confer with the United States—the proponent of the pact—as to their understanding of its meaning, and possibly as to any suggestions which might be made for maintaining its commitments. Would not the mere sending of such an invitation, however various the replies might be, have an immediate and important effect on the international situation?

### Difficulties in the Pacific Found Increasing

PESSIMISM, profound and general, seems to have been the mood of the delegates to the recent Institute of Pacific Relations as they left the Yosemite park for their homes. For two weeks these leaders of the nations with interests in the Pacific area had sought to agree among themselves as to a program by which peace might be assured in that un-pacific part of the world; at the end they found themselves even farther apart than at the beginning. In fact, this year's session of the famous biennial institute served principally to mark the rapidity of the progress toward general warfare in the orient. The delegates, wrote the foreign editor of the Chicago Daily News, "carried away impressions that the prospect for a peaceful solution of the profound political and economic conflicts raging or latent in the Pacific is fainter than it has been for many years." Two things, in particular, seem to have made a deep impression. First, the discovery that the so-called "liberal" delegation from Japan was not willing to give an inch in its support of the policy which the Japanese army has pursued on the Asiatic mainland. Second, the announcement by Dr. Hu Shih that he represents a major section of the intellectual leadership of China in having abandoned his previous pacifism and concluded that there can be no peace in the east until China has defied and defeated Japan.

### Powers Promise Hands Off in Spain

SPAIN'S civil war seems to be moving toward a stalemate. At least, the promises which the rebels have made of a speedy capture of Madrid and other centers of government power have not been fulfilled. And now that the various European powers have apparently adopted a common policy of cutting off arms and military supplies from the country, time fights for the government. It controls the most important arsenals; it controls practically all the munitions manufacturing plants; it controls the nation's gold supply; it has the support of a majority of the population. If General Franco and his fellow rebels do not overwhelm the government within the next month (provided, always, that the three fascist states—Italy, Germany, Portugal—keep their pledges to the other powers) the chances are small that they will ever do so. Meanwhile, the passing of another week, while it has failed to register any important military advances for the rebels, has seen one important political development. General Franco's army cabal has at last given out a clear-cut statement as to what it is fighting for. The uprising, it declares, intends to establish a complete military dictatorship, fascist in policy. All parliamentary institutions are to be abolished. Workers are to be deprived of the right to strike. All property which has been taken from industrialists, the land-owning nobility or

the church is to be restored to its former owners. All socialist elements are to be "exterminated," and after that process has been completed (sic!) a plebiscite is to be held on the question of inviting King Alfonso to resume his throne. From this time on, therefore, when any attempt is made to understand the savagery and desperation shown by the workers' militia supporting the government, these avowed aims of the other side must be taken into account.

## American Neutrality Requires More Than Legal Argument

OFFICIAL American relations with the Spanish situation have been marked during the last week by two events of significance—Secretary Hull's answer to the Spanish government's declaration of a blockade of certain ports held by the rebels and his strong protest at the bombing by an unidentified airplane of the destroyer Kane, one of the American warships now cruising in Spanish waters. In his reply to the Spanish government Mr. Hull merely cited the principle in international law that a blockade is not legal if it is not effective, that is, if it is not supported by a military or naval force adequate to maintain it. This may well have been the proper answer in the present case (since our recent neutrality legislation has no reference to civil wars), but the appeal to international law has an ominous sound. It reminds one of the notes about neutral rights on the seas which passed between our government and both Germany and Great Britain twenty years ago. If our experience then demonstrated anything beyond peradventure, it was that if in the event of war in Europe we really want to be neutral, we must base our neutrality upon something else than legal precedents. Indeed, nothing is more important than that we make up our minds definitely to the fact that there is not the slightest chance of our remaining neutral without the sacrifice of some of our legal rights along with commercial and financial interests, so that we shall provide in advance for this sacrifice by passing a comprehensive and binding neutrality law. In connection with the incident of the Kane, it is reassuring to learn from the state department that American warships, sent to assist Americans in evacuating Spain, are on the point of being recalled. It is to be hoped that Americans who insist upon remaining there will understand that they do so at their own risk.

## Hearst Autocracy Meets Its Match

THE MANAGEMENT of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer states that the strike now being conducted by members of its editorial staff concerns only 24 employes, most of them in minor positions. If that is so it merely demonstrates that, given the right conditions, 24 unionized employes can be a match for one of the most ruthless industrial autocrats in the world. For the P-I (to give the paper its Seattle nickname) is a Hearst paper—the only morning newspaper in a city of more than 400,000 people. And the strike conducted by members of the American Newspaper guild on its editorial staff has now compelled this Hearst paper to suspend publication for three weeks, and has brought the Hearst management to the point where it declares that it is contemplating suspending publication indefinitely. From Mr. Hearst, from the Seattle chamber of commerce, and from most of the newspapers of the country come agonized wails about an outrage to freedom of the press, property rights, law and order, and all the familiar hullaballoo that the owning side habitually raises when a strike shows power. But to the outsider it looks very much as though what the Seattle strike is proving is that a union among white collar editorial workers, when given honest support by other branches of organized labor and when protected against gangster strikebreakers by a mayor and governor not under the employer's control, can cope with the economic bourbonism of the multimillionaire publisher. Under the conditions existing in Seattle, Mr. Hearst is no longer either a bogey or a great god Bud even to his own employes. And the real reason why newspaper publishers in general have opposed with so much bitterness the organization of a union among editorial workers can be seen in this demonstration that such a union, even though small, is so strategically located as to be able, with the backing of local opinion, to bring even the newspaper world's number one autocrat to a standstill.

## Pushing the United States Into an Oriental War

EVERY American who is in earnest about keeping the United States out of war with Japan should read the article, "Spearhead of Our Defense," which appears in the September 5 issue of Collier's. The article presents an interview with General Douglas MacArthur, last week made field marshal of the Philippine army. Ever since General MacArthur was released from his duties as chief of staff of the United States army in order to "advise" President Quezon regarding the military policy of the incipient Filipino republic, there have been dark suspicions abroad in this country as to what was up. The interview in Collier's transforms these suspicions into certainties. Not only does General MacArthur exult over having induced the Philippines to adopt a conscript military establishment into which every schoolchild, boy *and girl,* is introduced at the age of ten, but the reasons behind this complete militarization of the islands are laid clear. This large army is being formed not only to "defend" the islands themselves, but to make them the anchor in a chain of "defenses" for the United States against "aggression" from the east, i.e., from Japan. To make the matter so plain that even a child cannot mistake it, Collier's prints a map which shows that General MacArthur is using the Filipinos as part of a scheme which makes the "first defense line" of the United States follow a line drawn from the tip of the Aleutians to the Philippines—incidentally including a generous bit of the Japanese empire within the area which the American war forces are getting ready to "defend." General

MacArthur of course accompanies his interview with the usual palaver about Filipino militarism being for defense only, and tries to prove it by pointing out that no navy is being built. Then the interviewer gives the whole thing away with this sentence: "Nor does he [General MacArthur] forget that, backing his army after 1945, when complete independence comes, will be the great gray fleet and the squadrons of bombing planes that will be attached to those island naval bases reserved for the United States"! If any American citizen is still foolish enough to believe that the United States is really drawing out of far eastern complications let him read General MacArthur's interview (with map) and have his eyes opened.

## A Peep Inside the Legal Mind

THE annual convention of the American Bar association opened with an address which declared that the "blessings of liberty" would be endangered if the nation's judges "make a hodgepodge of human right in order to serve supposed social ends." It closed with the unanimous election to the presidency of a member of the American Liberty league. In between, the following business was transacted: the association opposed a child labor amendment to the constitution; it declared itself unanimously against any attempt to limit the supreme court's power over legislation; it voted down resolutions calling for investigation of abuses in the prosecution of the Mooney-Billings case, and of violations of civil rights in strikes and in the activities of the Black Legion; it opposed a constitutional amendment to give congress and the states broad powers for social and economic legislation; it refused to endorse an appeal from the American Law institute to the WPA for funds to employ needy lawyers in legal research. The only touch of anything approaching liberalism was an unscheduled and unwelcome committee report condemning circus court performances, as in the Hauptmann case. But even here the bar refused to accept responsibility for change by placing the bulk of the blame on the press. Earlier in the year newspaper editors and publishers took note of the same situation but laid the unwanted child at the doorstep of the bar. This strange inability of the professions to agree makes it clear to the layman that although a serious flaw has been uncovered in our legal processes those responsible refuse to put themselves to remedial plans. The convention was a demonstration that the traditional conservatism of the legal profession is veering dangerously far to the right. We would do well to remember that the danger point in a society is reached when the way is blocked toward legal social change.

## Russia After the Executions

WE shall not try to fool our readers into believing that we know all about the trial and execution of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the fourteen other less prominent communists at Moscow. Viewed both as a trial and as a case study in human psychology, the whole business was too fantastic a performance to lend itself to any easy, rational explanation. We know only a little as to what has happened, and even less as to why. The old, dark Russia has been revealed once more; darker, more difficult of comprehension than ever. Nevertheless, there are a few aspects of the situation which has been produced by these executions which are clear enough, and which have their meaning. It is clear, for one thing, that Stalin is absolute boss—even more absolute, if such a thing is possible, than Mussolini in Italy or Hitler in Germany. The attempt which has recently been made, with the publication of the proposed new constitution and of the Webb's great book on "Soviet Communism," to weaken the idea that Stalin is in absolute, unfettered, one-man control, might as well now be given up. In the second place, the executions of Zinoviev and Kamenev, plus the exile of Trotsky, "liquidate" the last possibility of any political rivalry to Stalin in the control of the soviet union. And in the third place, the announcement from Moscow that the executions are to be followed by a final root-and-branch extermination of the least remaining vestiges of the Trotskyite heresy, with particular attention to the surveillance of men like Bukharin, Radek and other communist journalists of that eminence, means that Stalin intends no more to permit ideational rivalry than he has permitted rivalry in politics. An iron hand grips Russia. Despite such progress as the five-year-plans have brought about, the essentials of a terror are still in control. And the world has been given another illustration of the tendency of revolutions to turn in upon themselves and devour their own makers.

## Mr. Landon Discusses Taxes and Debts

IT WAS a good campaign speech which Mr. Landon made at Buffalo on taxes and the national debt. It was skilfully couched in simple, understandable terms and it dealt with a subject which the average citizen has no trouble in recognizing as vital and relevant. Besides, it is at this point—the growing public debt—that the most plausible case can be made out against the present administration. It *is* disturbing to see the debt mounting month by month, and the assurance that the United States could carry a much heavier indebtedness and remain solvent by no means completely allays alarm. One wishes, however, that Mr. Landon's constructive suggestions had been more specific. As has often been pointed out, the great body of expenditure by the present government has been for relief, for pensions (including the bonus) and for armaments, and if the republicans secure office and do not curtail expenses in these areas—which they evidently do not intend to do—any economies they may be able to make elsewhere will be quite unimportant and the debt will continue to mount; that is, unless taxes are to increase, and Mr. Landon is as much opposed to high taxes as he is to big debts. His condemnation of "hidden" taxes is all to the good, but it is impossible to believe that he or his party favor an

income tax high enough to carry the cost of government without the aid of indirect taxation. So far what the republicans have said about government finance has been more in the nature of plausible criticisms of present policies than of convincing proposals for changing them. P.S.—As it happened, the republican Senator Vandenburg chose the very week of Mr. Landon's finance speech to publish an article in the Saturday Evening Post claiming that, without a constitutional amendment, no President can do much to better the government's spending habits. And proved it!

## Justice for the 'Have Nots'

BEHIND such a resolution as has been sent to the League of Nations by the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches (see page 1205) lies a healthy realism. Any attainment of the ends which the alliance exists to promote will require a vital readjustment of the present economic status of of the world. "Friendship" among the nations can never be more than a sickly and fleeting emotion, whether nurtured by the churches or by any other agencies, so long as one group of peoples regards itself as unfairly deprived of economic resources while other peoples seem to have a surfeit. To find an international religious body like the alliance aware of this fact, and pressing on the league the need for immediate action to remedy the situation as it now exists, is heartening. There is, however, in the series of recommendations sent to the league by the alliance one which requires critical attention. Fundamental among the causes of antagonism between the nations the alliance specifies "inability to obtain raw materials." The same thing is being said by most of those who have been calling for just such a world conference as the alliance proposes. Does any such "inability" exist? Does it exist in the form generally suggested, namely, in inability to enter regions where raw materials are produced and buy as much as the buyer can afford? Is not this inability of the buyer to pay, rather than any deliberate withholding of raw materials from world needs, the real problem? Save in time of war, we have never heard of an owner of raw materials who was not quite ready to sell to any buyer who had the price.

## He Should Have Been Impeached

THE Pennsylvania judge who accompanied his sentence of a colored man convicted of assault upon two girls with the remark, "If they had lynched you they would have been justified," has been forced by the state legislature to make public apology and to suffer a reprimand. He should have been impeached and, as a matter of fact, the impeachment proceedings instituted against him barely missed success. When the governor of California several years ago expressed himself as approving a lynching which had just occurred in that state, he aroused nationwide indignation and protest; official approval of lynching by a man in high position sworn to execute the law and to preserve order appeared to many an almost incredible perversion. But even this seems hardly as bad as approval of lynching voiced by a judge, and by a judge while actually presiding in a court of law. According to reliable reports, the judge, B. C. Atlee of Lancaster, told the prisoner that it was no credit to the town where the crime occurred that it had allowed him to be brought into court, that no court ought to have had to bother with his case and that if the citizens had lynched him they would only have been doing their duty. In his apology, which he was forced to read aloud and sign in the presence of the judiciary committee of the legislature, Judge Atlee stated that he had spoken indiscreetly under the stress of strong emotion. In other words, he apologized for saying what he thought. But it is not what he is probably genuinely sorry for saying but what he is doubtless not at all sorry for feeling that constitutes the enormity of his offense. One is moved also to reflect that so long as considerable numbers of respectable citizens (not to mention judges and governors) can "under the stress of strong emotion" condone the crime of lynching, it is not surprising that smaller numbers of less respectable people can under the same circumstances commit it.

# A God-Guided Dictator

THE question frequently raised whether the Oxford group movement with its emphasis upon the individual has a contemporary social message of any kind received an authoritative affirmative answer last week from its founder and leader, Frank N. Buchman. "I thank heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler, who built a front line of defense against the anti-Christ of communism," he is reported as saying in an interview published in the New York World-Telegram. "But think what it would mean to the world if Hitler surrendered to the control of God. Or Mussolini. Or any dictator. Through such a man God could control a nation overnight and solve every last, bewildering problem. . . . The world needs the dictatorship of the spirit of God. . . . They [all social problems] could be solved within a God-controlled democracy, or perhaps I should say, theocracy, and they could be solved through a God-controlled fascist dictatorship." Thus as plainly as it could be done Frank Buchman points to fascism as the way out of our social difficulties.

One's first impression upon reading this report is shock at hearing what other "leaders" have merely hinted stated with such openness and naiveté. Only a little reflection, however, brings the realization that there is nothing very surprising in the alleged remarks. They are pretty much what ought to have been expected from Dr. Buchman. They represent the kind of "social gospel" to which the presuppositions of his position—or of any other interpretation of salvation in purely individual terms—must inevitably lead.

For in these days, at least, it is impossible for a re-

ligious movement permanently to avoid taking a social position and throwing its weight to one side or another in the social conflict. Social, economic and political issues are too critical, too insistent and too pervasive. No religious group that assumes any proportions at all can long stand aloof no matter how sincerely it may intend to do so. Indeed, perhaps the worst thing about a religion which undertakes to be purely individualistic and to concern itself not at all as to the way in which the corporate life of society is organized is that it cannot succeed in that undertaking—it is forced to take a political position, and its utter lack of understanding of political realities predetermines what that position shall be.

Such a religion enters the social arena inevitably on the side of reaction. God works through individuals, it argues. The way to make institutions good is to make the individuals who run them good. The fewer these individuals are, the simpler the operation. The only way to make a good government is to convert the governors, and if there could be but one governor dictating the policies of the nation under God's guidance, the ideal type of state would have been achieved. Individualism in religion thus leads by the straightest possible road to fascism in politics.

Of course, it is true that Dr. Buchman specifies that the fascist dictatorship must be God-guided. But when the dictator himself is, in the nature of the case, the only person who can possibly know whether he is so guided or not—and he is certain to believe and claim that he is!—the qualification has not the slightest significance. The whole crucial question of what tests will determine whether the dictator is "God-controlled" or controlled by his own ambitions and notions is blithely ignored. As a matter of fact, Hitler and Mussolini have always claimed to speak for God and in each case there are millions who endorse their claims. Dr. Buchman himself apparently feels that though Hitler has been perhaps a little harsh at times ("Of course, I don't condone everything that the nazis have done. Anti-semitism? Bad, naturally."), nevertheless he "saved all Europe from communism," and that is evidently felt to give considerable support to his divine claims. The fact that he has gratuitously and arrogantly inflicted incalculable suffering upon a large group of his countrymen, that he has sacrificed all freedom in Germany to an irresponsible nationalism and the ruthless maintenance of class privilege, and that he is implacably pursuing an international policy headed straight toward a world war, does not prevent Dr. Buchman from crying, "Thank heaven for a man like Hitler!"

Social progressives within the churches have for a long time been insisting that a purely individual type of piety is vapid, negative and futile. It is important to see that it is, at any rate in these times, positively dangerous. Individualism cannot be sealed in a religious compartment; it overflows inevitably into the economic and political sphere. It is not an accident that some of the more conspicuous movements in this country which have a fascist tendency are religious and that clergymen are frequently their leaders. And it was on a "National Conference of Ministers and Laymen" that certain southern interests recently counted to stem the tide of liberalism in the south.

It is not a question any more—if it ever was—of individual religion versus the social gospel; it is a question of what social gospel. Shall religion commit itself to a social ideal and program based upon the naive assumptions of individualism or based upon an intelligent understanding of the realities of man's collective life? Shall it preach a social gospel of reaction or of reconstruction? No other alternative is in the long run possible. The Oxford group movement is only following the logic of its position when it declares for reaction. Any dream of a "God-guided dictator" involves the reality of waking to the cry, "Thank heaven for Hitler!"

## Dr. Ambedkar's Choice

A DISPATCH to the London Times from its chief correspondent in India states that Dr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar, leader of the depressed classes, has decided to recommend to his followers that they embrace the Sikh religion. When it was first reported last spring that Dr. Ambedkar had become convinced that only a mass exodus from Hinduism—or the threat of such an exodus—could obtain for the sixty million outcastes of India their rights as human beings, hope was manifested in many western religious circles that this would mean the largest accession to Christianity in its history. Does not Christianity claim to be preeminently the religion of human equality before God and of brotherhood among men?

Just why Dr. Ambedkar, in making his choice, should have passed by Christianity (or Islam) for the religion of the Sikhs it is impossible on the basis of the dispatch in the Times to say with certainty. That it was not on account of any lack of presentation of the merits of these and other religions an article in Zion's Herald by the Methodist Bishop B. T. Badley makes clear. Bishop Badley tells of a conference held by the untouchables in May at Lucknow at which fourteen speakers representing ten faiths presented the case for their religions. Three of these speakers were Christians. Dr. Ambedkar himself was not present, but his leadership was acknowledged and plans were adopted for another national convention of the depressed classes, to be held next year, at which a final choice among the competing faiths would be made. This year's convention adopted a resolution in favor of leaving Hinduism.

It is not difficult, however, to conjecture with considerable assurance what must have gone on in Dr. Ambedkar's mind if, as the Times states, he has finally come to believe that the Sikh community offers his people the most attractive spiritual home. Not theological, but social and political considerations must have been paramount. For social and political considerations have precipitated the revolt of the untouchables against Hinduism; if they are to find satisfaction in a new

religious alignment their social and political requirements obviously must first be met. And because these considerations have played, and will continue to play, so large a part in this whole episode, western Christians may well be content that Dr. Ambedkar's choice has turned out as it has.

Religious mass movements are always a source of terrible spiritual danger. India has witnessed more of these than any other field of modern missionary enterprise. Such movements, even when most wisely guided, have always left Christianity open to the taunt of padding its rolls with "rice Christians," to borrow a term from a neighboring mission territory. Today, with the political situation created by a rising nationalistic consciousness what it is in India, Christianity is less than ever able to defend the purity of its motives in seeking converts from the socially depressed classes of Hindu society or the purity of the motives of such converts as might respond to its invitation.

Those who may, at first sight, see in Dr. Ambedkar's decision only a setback for Christian hopes in India will do well to consider the background of this whole affair.

It must first be realized by western Christians that the reason why this question of the religious affiliation of India's 60,000,000 outcastes has come to the front now is because India is just passing under the regulation of her new constitution. In that constitution, the British suzerains have embodied a system of "communal awards" as the only practical method of maintaining racial and religious peace. Under these awards a certain number of seats in the federal (and presumably also in the state) legislatures are allotted to the different religious communities, roughly on the basis of their membership as shown in the decennial census reports. In this way a guarantee is given the Moslem community, for example, that its minority size will nevertheless not leave it without adequate legislative representation and at the mercy of a Hindu majority, which might otherwise gain every elected seat in the legislature. Now it is not inconceivable—indeed, it becomes at once an imminent possibility—that if Dr. Ambedkar, or anybody else, can induce the 60,000,000 untouchables to transfer their allegiance in a mass out of Hinduism and into some other religious community, the majority position of Hinduism will be undermined, and the group joined by the untouchables made large enough to hold a political balance of power. (At the last census the number of Hindus was given as 238,000,000, of Moslems as 78,000,000 and of Sikhs as 4,500,000. The shifting of 60,000,000 untouchables would force a drastic revision of the present assignment of legislative seats under the communal award scheme.)

Nothing needs to be told the readers of this journal as to the tragic lot of India's outcastes. Despite all that has been said and done to gloss over the realities of their condition—such as the substitution of the euphemistic term, "depressed classes," for the former "untouchables" and "outcastes"—they remain among the most exploited human beings on earth. All the recent efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and other reformers to mitigate their lot have had little effect. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Dr. Ambedkar, almost the first important leader to emerge among these victimized people, should have seen in India's new system of communal awards a dazzling chance to obtain the sort of political power which would most quickly make it possible for his people to exact their other rights as members of Indian society.

The choice of Sikhism must have had much to commend it to a leader seeking these ends. In the first place, the Sikh religion historically represents a monotheistic revolt against Brahmanical Hinduism, a revolt which broke out in India at almost the same time as that led by Luther in Europe, and had as one of its principal aims the abolition of caste distinctions. More important, however, is the present position, with the Sikhs a small community, fairly well localized in the Punjab, and eager for more recognition in the Indian league of races and faiths than has recently been accorded them. Incorporation in the warlike Sikh group should assure Dr. Ambedkar's followers a maximum and insistent support for their claims, with an immediate lessening of their present social disabilities.

Yet the question will persist for many: But why not Christianity? Dr. Ambedkar has been a favorite of the British—he is principal of the Government Law college of Bombay—and his personal social contacts must have urged him in the direction of the faith which is socially recognized by the British *raj* in India. However, it was probably this very fact of connection between the Christian faith and the ruling power, with the resulting tendency on the part of myriads of Indians to think of Christianity as the religion of the foreign imperialism, which made it impossible for Dr. Ambedkar to move in that direction. For the one thing which the leader of the untouchables dares not do, in his efforts to gain for his people a new social recognition, is to allow them to become tainted with the charge of lack of patriotism.

In March this year a small mass movement out of Hinduism got under way in the state of Travancore among members of the depressed classes known as Ezhavas. In reporting the episode at the time the India correspondent of The Christian Century stated that the Ezhava leaders, in recommending to their followers affiliation with Christianity, called upon them to "join the church of the king-emperor." That was precisely the thing which any keen-minded leadership of the outcastes would know must be avoided, since the goal of the whole Ambedkar movement is a new status and power for the depressed classes *within* the Indian nation, now slowly coming into being, something that never can be attained by any group stigmatized as traitors and sycophants of the alien conqueror.

For it is the unfortunate fate of Christianity in India that, with the rise of Indian nationalism, this suspicion that Christianity is the religious department of the British colonial office should have become general among the nationalists. Nor has the dependence of American as well as British missions on the government treasury for support for much of their work helped to lessen this suspicion. It is difficult enough to keep the relations between church and state clear in the west; in a state

like India it is well-nigh impossible to keep millions from leaping to the conclusion that because their foreign governors are Christians, Christianity is the religion of the foreign government. Men like Stanley Jones are giving their lives to create another impression of Christianity's mission, but the existence of the established Anglican order serving as chaplain for the alien *raj*, sets the picture.

How many untouchables will actually follow Dr. Ambedkar into the Sikh community, provided next year's conference approves his recommendation, it is idle to speculate. Certainly not 60,000,000. No matter what the size of this exodus may be, however, Christianity is fortunate that it has not led to its portals. For it to have done so would have been only to compromise further the Christian position in India, a position already compromised badly enough. But the very fact that Christianity was in no moral and spiritual position to offer a welcome to these tragic millions should serve to show all thinking Christians how imperative it is that the relationship between the Christian gospel and the power-grasping state shall be clarified if Christianity is to make a vital spiritual contribution to the new life of the orient.

# Motion Pictures in Russia

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

*Moscow, August 10.*

I AM WRITING this in Moscow where the Sherwood Eddy seminar has provided me the opportunity to find out a few facts about Russian movies. I learned them from the Scientific Research institute of motion pictures and particularly from Mr. Lars Moen, an American serving as a technician in that institute.

The basic fact is this: The motive of motion picture production in Russia is public service and not private profit. One does not hear a producer asking, "How much money can I make out of this picture?" He hears the heads of the industry asking, "What ought we to give the people next year to raise their standards of life and appreciation and to fit them for a wise use of their increasing leisure time?"

An incident will illustrate the wide difference of this basic motive from the present American one. A film from Czeckoslovakia entitled "Peter," presenting a certain star, had been tremendously popular in Russia. Soon its successor came along with the same star and produced by the same company. By all the precedents of the motion picture world it was bound to gross heavily at the box office. Nevertheless the second picture was not shown and will not be shown in Russia. "Why?" I asked. The answer was revealing. "We examined it and found it trash. It glorified the getting of money and material success. We want none of that for our people."

The next fact of importance is that Russian movies are not confined to the theaters. They have 135,000 exhibition centers including schoolhouses, collective farms, clubs and various civic and social organizations. Russia thus has more exhibition centers than all the rest of the world put together. (In America our pictures are practically confined to our 15,000 theaters. Our motion picture trust definitely discourages schools and churches from showing feature length films.) When a major picture is made in Russia 650 prints of it are manufactured at once. That is about the number Hollywood counts on making for the whole world market. The Russian movie industry makes no distinction in price or in service between theatrical and non-theatrical renters of film. Small and large exhibition centers—theaters and schools and collective farms—all pay their rentals on a percentage system. That is, each pays to the renting office a certain percentage of its box office receipts. In a theater of two thousand seats this may be a considerable sum. In a rural school on the frontier it may be quite small. But the same films and service are available to both.

There is no block booking. Any center can pick and choose its pictures. The government insists on the rural schools and farms and outposts having their full share of motion picture equipment as fast as it can be manufactured. In the present year the government has decreed that the motion picture industry must provide new sound equipment for 1500 collective farms and that these farms be given preference over city theaters. The cost for sound installation in any center is roughly about $2000. The center may borrow a part of this from the state at low interest. Thus the whole distribution plan is designed to make every picture available at convenient local centers so that everyone in the soviet union may see it. I am told that before a good picture finishes its run it is exhibited to 80 or 90 per cent of the 170,000,000 people who constitute this astonishing country.

With such a vast market the Russians are not worried about how to push their pictures. Their problem is how to create enough to supply the demand. This year, through 17 studios, they are producing 150 feature-length films. They plan to produce from 500 to 600 per year as quickly as they can build up their equipment and their personnel. The magnitude of this task seems staggering when one recalls that only 25 per cent of the people speak Russian. The sound tracks must be made in at least half a dozen other Slavic languages.

To improve the quality of their output the Russians have established an academy for training directors, players and scenarists.

"How about propaganda?" I asked. "Conscious agitational propaganda for communism or socialism is out," came the answer. "There has been little or none of it for the last two years. It was bad art for one thing, and besides, the Russian people don't need it any more. They are thoroughly sold on this new economic and social order. Our pictures do unquestionably reflect our standards of social values, just as yours in America reflect yours. Would it surprise you to know that most of Hollywood's pictures are considered propaganda here?"

"In what way?"

"In their glorification of material progress and of the virtues of the acquisitive life. After all, isn't propaganda what the other fellow believes and education what we believe?"

I changed the subject. That was no way to talk to an educator.

"Under your economic system how do you finance your movies, what differentials have you in salaries and how about overhead?" The answer in brief was something like this: Russian movies are a state-owned monopoly. In their production, distribution and exhibition, they are self-supporting. But for their capital investment they receive a subsidy from the state as do all other large industries. This subsidy will be withdrawn when their factories for raw film and apparatus are completed. All profits from the studios go to the state. Should a studio show an operating loss the state would be responsible, but any executive who showed a loss would have to justify it or find himself shortly out of a job.

Salaries for players vary from about $10 a day for bit parts to $100 a day for heavy parts. (One exception to this is the great actor Moskuin of the Moscow Art theater who is said to receive $1,000 a day when he acts for the films—which is not often. Just how he can spend that amount in Russia is not clear.) Executive salaries seldom exceed $10,000 a year. Directors and scenarists are paid on a royalty basis, receiving about two per cent of the gross box office receipts for their pictures. Thus individual initiative and talent are rewarded. Paying no high rents or overhead the Russians manage to keep their production costs far below those in America.

One of the most significant developments has come within the past months. The industry, with governmental approval, has decided to devote one of its major studios entirely to the production of films for children. Almost overnight the whole studio (incidentally it was once a theological seminary!) is being made over and new personnel added, with new properties, sets and other equipment. The new crop of children's films will begin to appear in a few months. No other country in the world has a studio specializing in this field.

And here I discovered an exciting fact. "What relation," I asked, "will these films have to the teaching of the schools?"

"A very close relation—but it is the same that every one of our films has. We have geared our films and our educational system together. Our schools are under the commissar of education, our films under the commissar of art. But the two work together. The commisar of education has under its jurisdiction a board of censors. No film can be exhibited until it has been approved first in scenario form and finally in picture form by that board of censors. Thus the commissar of education has the right and the duty to see that our motion pictures work in harmony with and not in opposition to the schools."

"What happens when a picture fails to win the approval of the board of censors?"

"It is corrected if possible. If not it goes to the ash can."

From six to a dozen pictures each year make this one-way trip to the ash can. Their failure to pass the censors is not on moral grounds but because they are regarded as false in their values and ideas or because they have no artistic quality to commend them. As for morals there seems to be no attempt here to exploit sex or crime. Occasionally one hears in a Russian movie a frank discussion of such a subject as abortion, and, of course, crimes are committed in the course of certain stories. But sex and crime are kept in their place as part of the experience of life and not magnified for the sake of box office appeal.

What, then, do the Russian movies portray? From what source do they draw their thematic material? Almost entirely from the daily life of the people, their struggles, their romances, their adventures, their efforts to build a new social order. The hackneyed Hollywood plots of "boy meets girl" and "small town lad makes good" (meaning he makes a million), "Cinderella" and all such find little place here. The plots are fresh, the backgrounds those of the masses, the movement vigorous. About 10 per cent of the year's product is devoted to full-length features known as "documentary films" recording important events in the world. An example is the film made by Russian cameramen picturing the Italo-Abyssinian war. Another: "Youth on the March," a series of scenes of the youth movement in Russia. A large quantity of 16-millimeter instructional film on geography, chemistry, physics, nature study, and so forth, is also made and rented to schools through the regular film distributing offices of the union.

One more fact. After a film is completed it is given a "discussional exhibition." That is, the producer, the director, the players and the technicians take it out to a factory or to a collective farm and show it to a rank and file audience. Then the lights are turned up and a discussion follows. Did the audience find it true to life? Was it overdone? Did the players interpret their parts adequately? A score of such questions are discussed and the creators of the film troop back to headquarters. They have had a direct contact with their audiences such as Hollywood does not get from its socialite previews conducted by its promotion men.

Is there anything in all this that the American people can use to advantage in our own movies—assuming for the moment that they really belong to us? Technically Hollywood has little to learn from Russia unless it be certain methods employed by some of the great directors such as Pudovkin and Eisenstein. But from the standpoint of social usage and organization we may learn a great deal. Picture what American movies might become if they were (a) geared into our educational system and dominated by the same set of values, (b) reorganized in their distributing and exhibition functions so that they were not limited to our 15,000 theaters but made available for our 150,000 schools, churches, clubs, and civic organizations, (c) remotivated in their production so that they helped people—all the people—interpret life rather than simply escape from it, and (d) conducted primarily for public service rather than for private profit.

Here is an issue of fundamental importance to the

cultural life of America and the world. Sooner or later it must be faced. Raising the cry "Red! Red!" will hardly answer it.

FRED EASTMAN.

## After Holidays

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Sometimes you may have heard, sometimes you may even have given, counsels to those who are about to take holiday; sometimes at some holiday resort you may have given advice to those in process of taking holiday. But I ask you whether you have ever heard counsels directed to those who are back from their holidays. You shall hear them now.

The first is this: Do not expect your friends to be thrilled with the story of your travels. Be sparing in your descriptions. Unless you are a Thoreau or a Richard Jefferies, you will not make them convincing, and the odds are against that. Bring pictures and photographs by all means, but do not be surprised when you talk about them if your friends remember suddenly important engagements.

This is the first counsel. You, sir, will agree that among the writers to whom we owe a debt of gratitude is Frank R. Stockton. Was there not a story of his called "The Late Mrs. Null" (or some such title) in which he told the sad tale of a man who had traveled in Europe and could not get any of his friends to listen to his story. That led him to engage a kind of secretary whose business it was to listen to his tales and keep awake. What followed can be read by any wise reader who will return to that charming writer.

The second counsel is: Remember that you are back from holidays, but others are not; they are fagged and jaded, "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable," while you are bubbling over with energy. Don't go to them as though you were calling them to a fresh outburst of activity. That will get you disliked and will do no good.

In any big office or society holidays must be taken in rotation; and there are few things more trying than to be greeted by a man on his return from holidays with a face ruddy as that of the youth David and overflowing with high spirits, while you are marking off the days on the calendar before your turn comes. "Well and what sort of holiday have *you* had?" this ruddy Titan asks of you. Or he may even say, "You look awfully well after your holidays," when he ought to know that your turn has yet to come.

No, the only right course is that he who has been shall remember others who have yet to be on holiday. A neglect of this simple rule may kindle homicidal thoughts.

The third counsel is equally clear and convincing: Don't begin at a pace which you cannot keep up for the duration of the working year. You will be tempted to begin work as though you could do anything and no limits could be set. Any work which is worth doing must be planned on a large scale. Life is a long-distance race, and the man who starts the mile as if it were a hundred yards race will be left behind long before the end.

I offer these counsels for your consideration. They are not matters of first importance. But to say that a counsel is of secondary importance is not to say that it may be neglected. Many an office would be a happier place if the ethics of holiday making were honored. Therefore let others deal with the conduct of such as are away on holiday. I discourse upon the fitting conduct of those who come back. Let them take heed how they walk towards the others.

Yours recessionally,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

# *VERSE*

### *Vision*

*(Genesis 28:12.)*

I THINK God's angels are
Never removed, nor far
From any earthly bed,
And one uncomforted.
God's goodly agents go
Attentively below;
The shining beings stand
Great-winged, on either hand.
If in a dream man's eyes
Be opened, he descries
The blessed order of his Lord's befriending;
And to the bending skies
In vision verifies
The angels first *ascending!*

SARA HENDERSON HAY.

### *One Great Story*

I FEEL him here this night of stars, and young.
Not he who tossed Uriah to Death's dark spears,
But he who made three thousand noisy years
Listen to songs a shepherd boy had sung.
Softly now I begin, with echoing tongue,
"The heavens declare,"—and surely a harp appears!
His! "The firmament showeth," he chants, and rears
Luminous ladders of music, rung on rung.

"I wish I had white sheep to herd and fold,"
Foolish I say. "What peace you knew, what glory,
David, on hills beside your Orient sea."
"Try shepherding your dreams," he smiles. "They hold
Bright quietness. All stories are one great story—
On Judah's hills or hills of Tennessee."

GRACE ARMSTRONG ALLEN.

# Is It True What They Say About Dixie?

By Alson Jesse Smith

THAT'S what the twenty-two members of the National Religion and Labor foundation's 1936 traveling seminar—ministers, priests, teachers and trade unionists—wanted to find out. That's how we happened to be in the coffee shop of the Alcazar hotel in Clarksdale, Mississippi, at eight o'clock on a hot morning, drinking the world's worst coffee and listening to the automatic phonograph reiterate what seems to be America's favorite interrogation this summer. We had all studied the one-crop economy of the south with its plantation system and its dependence on cheap and plentiful human labor, more recently we had read of the evictions and floggings that accompanied attempts of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers to organize into a union, and most of us had heard Norman Thomas' stirring radio appeal of last spring in behalf of the strikers.

But in spite of all that we had heard, none of us, I think, was quite ready to believe that it was true—entirely—what they were saying in Union square and West 49th street* about Dixie. Such things, we confided to one another en route, happened only to Jews in nazi Germany or to socialists in fascist Italy—never to American agricultural workers in one of these glorious forty-eight free states. It couldn't possibly happen here.

### *The Sherwood Eddy Farm*

So here we were down in cotton's kingdom, anxious to see and talk with the king's own serfs and decide for ourselves if what "they" were saying was true. We were to make our first actual contact with the situation that sizzling July morning at Sherwood Eddy's Delta cooperative farm at Hill House, Mississippi, ten miles out of Clarksdale.

The delta of Mississippi and Arkansas is a flat, humid, mysterious country, brooding over its cypress swamps and bayous, its slow life dominated by a mighty yellow river. Sticky gumbo roads wind through miles and miles of vivid green cotton plants. The unpainted shacks of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers seem at times to be afloat on a sea of cotton; every available inch of land is planted with the stuff; there are no flowers, no vegetable gardens, to relieve the green monotony of the landscape. The huts in which the sharecroppers live, if you can call it that, upon close inspection appear to be surely the most miserable hovels in which human beings are called upon to reside in the so-called civilized world. Yet they are the only "homes" (God save the mark!) that 2,000,000 people have ever known.

Sanitary conveniences of even the most primitive sort are not in evidence. Here whole families are herded together in unspeakable squalor in one or two bare rooms where the bed is a straw mattress spread upon the floor, and one wonders why the entire sharecropper population of the south does not immediately perish of pellagra and malaria. The shack against which Dade Lester has been bouncing his ball on the stage of the Forrest theater for the last three years seems rather better than the average, and Dade and his sisters much better dressed than most 'cropper's children. The physical appearance of the cotton kingdom is a good introduction to life there. Nature and man have combined to render the atmosphere at once hot, cruel and oppressive.

### *The Rust Brothers*

Like the cathedrals of the middle ages, the Delta cooperative farm is a sanctuary for sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have been evicted from their "homes" because of their activity in the Southern Tenant Farmer's union. Sherwood Eddy and his fellow-worker, Sam Franklin (a former missionary to Japan) had been summarily arrested while visiting the tent colony of evicted sharecroppers in northeastern Arkansas, and had been so moved by the plight of these miserable people who had been turned out on the roadside with their pitiful possessions in mid-January that they had cast about for ways and means of helping them. Later when Eddy met the Rust brothers, inventors of a cotton picking machine which will revolutionize the cotton industry much as the gin did, the idea of the Delta cooperative form was born as a partial solution to the eviction problem.

The socially-minded Rust brothers, who had worked on their invention in poverty, saw the inevitable consequences of putting such a labor-saving machine on the market. One million sharecroppers in the south would face immediate starvation. After a series of conferences with Eddy, the "Rust Foundation" was formed. It was decided that no machines would be sold outright (except to the Russian government, where they would not mean a social loss) but that the machines would be *leased* to planters who accepted the Rust brothers' specifications as to labor, hours, wages, etc. Nine-tenths of the profits of the machine will go to start a series of cooperative farms, cooperative stores, and educational projects for both white and colored workers. As Eddy himself says, "If this is done it will be the first time in history, so far as I know, when a major mechanical invention has been completely socialized in a capitalistic country and harnessed to human welfare, and where virtually all the profits of the inventors goes to the relief of human labor which would suffer because of the machine."

However, the profits from the machine were still a year or so in the future (the first demonstration ma-

*"Tobacco Road" at the Forrest theater.

chines were put into the cotton fields in July of this year) and the immediate need for a haven of refuge so acute that Eddy set about raising funds for the purchase of land on which to start his experiment in cooperative cotton raising. With the help of northern friends he raised the $17,500 necessary to purchase 2,158 acres of rich black soil in the Mississippi delta —a bargain if there ever was one, since included in the purchase price was $7,500 worth of property and equipment needed to plant cotton immediately. One hundred and sixty acres of cypress provided the wood for the construction of homes for workers and an educational center.

Sam Franklin and Howard Kester slipped into terror-ridden Arkansas to select a hundred families for the new cooperative venture from the ranks of evicted sharecroppers and tenant formers. Along the roadsides and in tent colonies they found the families, huddled together with their few possessions in the winter cold, who were to provide the man-power for the assault on King Cotton's plantation-system fortress. For Kester, who had been active in the formation of the union, going back to Arkansas meant flirting with "sudden pneumonia," for he had barely escaped lynching at the hands of irate riding bosses and deputies in "the best gawd-damned county on earth" — Mississippi county, Arkansas—on several occasions during the strike.

### *Their First Real Chance*

So here, at this oasis in the midst of the green hell, we met and talked with the men and woman, black and white, for whom eviction and terrorism had miraculously meant their first real chance in life. As we talked with them there was unfolded the whole ugly story of exploitation, greed and brutality which is gradually making the deep south synonymous not with the mint juleps, magnolias, 'possum and romance of Tin Pan Alley and Hollywood, but with lynching bees, night-riders, flogging and murder.

These people were not the degenerates of "Tobacco Road," although physically there was a striking resemblance. They had been carefully selected for this cooperative venture. Yet they all recounted essentially the same story, the story told so vividly in Howard Kester's book, "Revolt Among the Sharecroppers." Under the most vicious system of exploitation in the United States they had been systematically robbed at the plantation stores where they were forced to buy everything they needed, from overalls to sorghum, on "credit" charged against their crop or through "Doodlum" or scrip books at prices from 20 to 40 per cent higher than "outside." Moreover, they were assessed ten cents for every dollar of "advance" at the store, and any extra labor that the planter hired was charged against their account. At the end of a year of the hardest kind of work the sharecropper would find himself indeed fortunate to break even; often he would be "in the hole" for $100 or $200. Being illiterate, he never kept an account himself and he never dared question the company's account, which would be handed to him on "settlement day" after the cotton had been ginned. To question the white man's word meant death—no exaggeration—for the Negro and eviction as a "trouble-maker" for the white 'cropper. We talked with families at the Eddy farm who, months after they had been evicted, had received bills for what it was claimed they still owed their former bosses.

### *Reports Corroborated*

The story of the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmer's union in the little town of Tyronza, Poinsett county, Arkansas, in July 1934, and the unbelievable brutality and terrorism on the part of the planters that accompanied this spontaneous rising of the serfs of King Cotton is probably familiar to most of the readers of this article. The strike was called to obtain for the sharecroppers and tenant farmers their share of the profits from the AAA acreage reduction program and to raise the pay of field laborers from 50-75 cents a day for a 13-hour day to $1-$1.50 a day. It was concluded, successfully, this June. But at the Eddy farm we talked with men—and women, too—who had been forced to flee for their lives in the dead of night from the so-called forces of law and order. We talked with men who bore the marks of flogging, men who had been jailed without warrant, men who had been evicted in mid-winter. We found, at the Eddy farm, definite and awful corroboration of the stories that Frazier Hunt had wired to the New York World-Telegram last winter, and of the startling material contained in the Wallace-suppressed Mary Connor Myers report, and the Amberson report.

After leaving the Eddy farm we drove, not without some trepidation, to Little Rock, and thence northeast to Memphis, through the counties where the terror had been most in evidence—Mississippi, Crittenden, and St. Francis. I say "not without some trepidation" for one timid member of our party had refused to risk his car with its New York plates in Arkansas, and several others had preferred to make the 150-mile trip in the anonymity of the bus. That their fears were not wholly unfounded we soon found out, for our "foreign" plates were the objects of close and unfriendly scrutiny everywhere we stopped—in Brinkley, Forrest City and West Memphis. When we went into a restaurant or filling station conversation ceased and everybody stood around and looked at us in a manner definitely hard and hostile until we left.

### *Southern Hospitality in Eclipse*

Southern hospitality had worn a little thin in northeastern Arkansas. For the first time since we had entered the south at Washington nobody said "come again" or offered extended comments on the heat. We knew that the "better elements"—the teachers, preachers, merchants, and so on—blamed "foreign agitators" —anybody from out of Arkansas—for all the trouble with the croppers, in spite of the fact that H. L. Mitchell and Clyde East, who had had more to do with actually organizing the union than any other non-sharecroppers, were both native Arkansans. Here, too, we saw for the first time state troopers, revolvers at their hips. In a tour that had taken us 2500 miles through Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas we had seen only one trooper of the type so familiar

in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Now, suddenly, we saw a great many of them, lounging in front of filling stations, seated in parked cars, or just wandering aimlessly up and down. Possibly this has no significance, but crossing the Mississippi over the Memphis bridge, we felt a distinct sense of relief. We had seen no actual violence, but violence and bitterness were unmistakably in the air of northeastern Arkansas.

### *First-Hand Reports*

At Memphis, in a little room on the third floor of the Adler Hotel, we heard from Claude William's own lips the story of his expulsion from the Presbyterian church at Paris, Arkansas for having, among other things, invited a "nigger" to dinner at his home. We heard the real story of the flogging of Williams and Miss Willie Sue Blagden by a group of well-dressed, well-mannered planters, in June, when they had presumed to enter Eagle, Arkansas, in search of the body of Frank Weems, reported slain for his union activity. We heard Clyde East, first president of the Southern Tenant Farmer's union, recount the story of the mob that had threatened to lynch Mary Hillyer, of New York, C. T. Carpenter, union attorney, and himself at Marked Tree, Arkansas. East was warned that if he ever returned to Poinsett county he would be shot on sight.

We went to the refugee camp in Memphis, where men and women were living who had been forced to flee from their homes in Arkansas, and heard A. B. Brookins, 70-year old Negro minister, tell his astounding story. On the 21st of March, 1935, a mob of forty planters and riding bosses, led by the manager of a large plantation, a town constable and a deputy sheriff, had attempted to lynch Brookins, who was chaplain of the union. After failing on four occasions to lure him from his shack they had turned their guns upon it and had riddled it with bullets. His 12-year old daughter was shot through the head. Brookins escaped in his nightclothes, hid in the cabin of a friend until the 23rd, and then made his way across the river to Memphis. We visited Brookin's home in Memphis and saw the bullet-riddled pots and pans, and talked with the daughter who had been shot.

### *Terrorism by the 'Best Elements'*

And all of this terrorism had been carried on by the so-called "best" elements in northeastern Arkansas, the planters, backed up by the guns of constables and deputy sheriffs. And it had been carried on, as usual, in the name of patriotism and religion. The argument that the real emeny is not the union but "communism" has a strangely familiar ring. To the planters—and we heard their side of the story in Little Rock—the sharecroppers were a lazy, degenerate, good-for-nothing lot; the union organizers were "outside agitators" (not so) bent on stirring up trouble in a peaceful community for dark reasons of their own, and besides—*the only way to raise cotton at a profit was to have no labor costs!*

This last damaging admission would seem to put the blame for the present feudalism of the south squarely on the plantation system itself, where it probably belongs. The more intelligent planters see this, but they can see no way out. The present system of sharecropping is an historical continuation of slavery, the result of the post-civil war situation in the south where a horde of agricultural workers had no land of their own to work and plantation owners had land and tools, but no money or workers.

### *Hopeful Signs*

Dark as the picture is, there are some hopeful signs. The Delta cooperative farm, should it survive in an unfriendly planter-dominated environment, is certainly one. The Southern Tenant Farmer's union, now firmly established in spite of Governor Futrell, the deputy sheriffs and the riding bosses, is another. The Rust Brothers cotton-picker, around which the cotton economy of the south must soon reform itself, is a third.

Yes, it's true what they say about Dixie. What they say, that is, in 14th street, not in Tin Pan Alley. The magnolias certainly do not bloom in profusion around the shacks of 2,000,000 sharecroppers, sour-belly is still a more familiar article of diet than 'possum, and the sun, which really does shine nearly all the time, beats down more often on the unpainted huts of Jetter Lesters with their haggard, malarial women and pot-bellied, naked children than it does on the honey-suckle bowered love nest where the cunnel and his lady sip their mint juleps and argue over the strategy of First Manassas.

## *Unto These*

KANE walked alone in his great rural estate
that day of wrath when in the smoke-grey towns
the alien horde marched to his factories,
and slew the trembling men and women there.

Kane had not wished it so; but, as Slink said:
"... Responsible for *them? that* pack of fools?
It's time we showed them we can hold our own!"
And show they did, in the bright-gushing blood....

For hours Kane wandered in the golden air:
the little larks carolled merrily around him,
and the sweet wind blew on him, and the grass
gave lovingly beneath his fine-shod feet;

but as he went he whispered, brokenly:
"God—it's so long—so long since I have prayed,
I have just taken anything I wanted—
And now—poor little folks—O Jesus, God...."

The radiant hours passed and the dusk came on,
and the rose-shimmering west turned to dark blue;
and then at last under the thronging stars
Kane sank down, weeping to the warm rich earth,

and in the bitter anguish he found out
the one wise thing there was in it to know:
that he had wounded the all-central Heart
in slaughtering His children in the mills!

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

# Lay Hold on Courage!

By Kirby Page

IN AN AGE of social convulsion a man must lay hold on courage if he is to experience the deeper satisfactions of life or to render significant service in creating the good society.

Since 1914 the various peoples around the earth have witnessed a more cataclysmic social upheaval than ever occurred in any previous quarter-century of history. And at this hour flashes of lightning and reverberations of thunder sound a warning that further storms are sweeping upon us. Perhaps not even the youngest members of this generation will live long enough to dwell in a tranquil society. Far more likely is the prospect of terrific social conflict until the end of their days. Fathomless depths of agony for innumerable hosts of men lie between us and the divine community on earth.

### *Toward Warfare*

Insecurity is a dominant characteristic of the present era. At such an hour holders of privilege and power, frightened at the prospect of losing their superior status, display increasing ruthlessness toward opponents of the existing social order; while the victims of economic decay, suffering the cumulative tortures of frustration and privation, manifest stronger determination to break the chains of their oppression. This rebellion, in turn, strikes deeper terror into the minds of the rich and powerful, with the result that class conflict moves toward devastating class warfare.

Reliance upon armed violence accompanies insecurity. Owners of great properties feel justified in resorting to any necessary degree of armed coercion in defending their interests; indeed, they zealously believe that in so doing they are safeguarding society itself. The odds against the mass of workers appear so slight that in desperation the exploited break forth in sporadic acts of violence. Every such outburst is heralded to the world by the owning class, through its press and radio and screen, as proof of the righteousness of its holy crusade against agitators and subversive influences, and serves as a justification for further repressive measures. But the perpetuation of unfair conditions through coercion deepens the convictions of an increasing host of victims that armed revolution offers the only way of escape from intolerable bondage.

### *Driven Into the Struggle*

Insecurity prevails not only in domestic relations but in international affairs as well, with the consequence that a terrific race of armaments is now magnifying fear and hostility. Favored nations talk earnestly about international law and respect for treaties in their eagerness to preserve advantages, while the handicapped countries punctuate their demands for a place in the sun by brandishing unsheathed swords. The aggressiveness of the late comers convinces the dominant powers that they have no alternative but to arm heavily in defense of their possessions. This procedure, in turn, seems to justify the frustrated in preparing for war as the only means of bringing about changes deemed essential to national interest and prestige.

This total situation places upon individuals who are unalterably opposed to violence and warfare responsibility for achieving a drastic transformation of the status quo by peaceable means. Sensitive ethical spirits with understanding of the preventable tragedies of the present moment are driven irresistibly into the struggle to bring about far-reaching changes in the social order. Only the craven can tolerate the wreckage and cruelty of a competitive economic system when he comprehends its real nature.

But commitment to the cause of social righteousness places one in opposition to vested interests which profit from a continuation of the prevailing system and to nationalists who rely upon armed preparedness and warfare for security and privilege. In periods of extreme social tension, opposition to the status quo is met with drastic repression and persecution. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that members of this generation whose sensitiveness and insight drive them into active resistance to competitive capitalism and to the war system must lay hold on courage if they are to survive relentless hostility from alarmed upholders of the present social order.

### *A Carpenter of Galilee*

The nature of the peril confronting opponents of an entrenched social system may be illustrated by an appeal to history. Nineteen centuries ago a carpenter of Galilee was subjected to the excruciating pains of crucifixion because he sought to bring about drastic changes in the habits and institutions of his contemporaries. Dullness, fear, passion, greed, credulity and inertia combined to send him to an early grave. The carpenter of Galilee agonizing on a cross between two thieves illustrates vividly the historic fate of pioneers and prophets who in hours of extreme social tension encounter insensitivity, fright, hatred, covetousness, gullibility and indifference. Society is not only ruthless in dealing with threats to security by robbers from below, but likewise is relentless in suppressing opposition from prophets above.

"The time is coming when anyone who has murdered one of you will suppose he is offering service to God" (John 16:2, Weymouth). That this warning of Jesus to his disciples was amply justified is evident from the record of the persecution they endured. Persons who are described as "those who turn the world upside down" are certain to meet bitter hostility from groups which desire to preserve an existing social system. Therefore most of the twelve apostles and of the seventy disciples met violent death. For three centuries the early Christian church passed through wave after wave of terrible persecution. The Roman cult of the state demanded worship of the emperor and meted out

death to persons who refused to burn incense at his altar. Unwillingness to make this patriotic gesture was considered treason and dealt with accordingly. A faint parallel is furnished by the attitude of enraged patriots in wartime toward groups of individuals who persist in refusing to salute the flag. The totalitarianism of Christianity has often brought its followers into conflict with the totalitarian state.

### *Heresy as Revolution*

Time and again minority groups of Christians have been subjected to ruthless persecution from upholders of the status quo. "Every heretical doctrine," wrote the great historian Dollinger, "which arose in the Middle Ages had explicitly or implicitly a revolutionary character, that is, in the measure that it attained to a commanding position it threatened to dissolve the existing political order and to effect a political or social transformation. These Gnostic sects, the Cathari and the Albigenses, which specially provoked the harsh and ruthless legislation, and had to be put down in a series of bloody struggles, were the socialists and communists of that time."

At the present hour no religious group stands higher in public esteem than the Quakers, yet their spiritual fathers were subjected to every manner of indignity and cruelty. George Fox was arrested and brought before courts sixty times and served eight terms in prison. In every age it has been dangerous to fall below or to rise high above contemporary standards and practices. Nevertheless sensitivity and insight have again and again driven minority groups into rebellion against prevailing iniquities. It is thus obvious that courage has been a prerequisite of pioneering.

### *The Universal Demand for Sacrifice*

High religion has often been considered visionary and Utopian because of its demand for self-sacrifice. A moment's reflection, however, brings to mind the fact that numerous other ways of life make this same demand. Nationalism, fascism and communism all call for undivided loyalty and utter devotion. Subordination of the comfort and safety of the individual to the welfare of the groups is assumed without question by all the rivals of religion.

Nationalism demands that in hours of crisis a citizen be prepared to sacrifice everything for the state. In wartime a patriot must be willing to give up position and income; he must be ready to experience long separation from wife and children; he must be willing to endure extreme discomfort and privation and to run the risk of losing limb or life itself. All this is not considered visionary and Utopian but is looked upon as the essence of the patriotism which is expected of every loyal citizen. And this expectation is justified in fact because millions of ordinary men and women do respond courageously and sacrificially.

Fascism also demands courage and sacrificial devotion; not only demands but secures these responses from multitudes of individuals. Mussolini and Hitler rule partly by terror and partly by enthusiastic allegiance of their followers. Youth especially is attracted by the challenge to lay everything on the altar of the state. The degree to which the individual is subordinated to the state under fascism appears incredible and monstrous to persons who have been nurtured on the doctrines of democracy. Personal freedom, personal comfort, personal safety must all be sacrificed at the command of the dictator. Body and soul are at the mercy of the leader.

Communism likewise demands absolute allegiance. Nothing whatever must be allowed to stand between the loyal communist and devotion to the cause. Imprisonment, exile and execution hung like Damoclean steel over the heads of the early bolsheviks. One of the tests of fitness for high office in the first days of the soviet regime was found in the candidate's record of sufferings in the struggle for freedom. Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky and many other outstanding leaders spent long years in prison and in exile, and frequently were subjected to extreme privation and suffering. The daring and devotion of Russian revolutionaries has rarely been equalled in history.

### *A Commonplace Virtue*

Few generations have ever been called upon for heavier sacrifices than those demanded of the present-day youth of Russia. Young men and women under 25 years of age in that land have never known comfort and plenty. Millions of them with passionate zeal have thrown themselves into the struggle to build a new society, while multitudes of others have been goaded forward by hunger and dictatorship. The price paid for the success of the first five year plan was terrific beyond exaggeration. The weight of burdens placed upon human muscles, the pangs of the human stomach, and the twitching of human nerves cannot be comprehended by most readers of these words.

Mature reflection drives home the conclusion that there is no reason to be astonished at the bravery and fidelity called forth by nationalism, fascism and communism, because even in peace-time entire professions of men and women constantly imperil their own lives in serving the community. The adage that self-preservation is the first law of life was long ago revealed to be without foundation by innumerable doctors, nurses, fireman, policemen, life-guards, explorers, scientists, missionaries, prophets and martyrs.

Courage is not only one of the indispensable virtues, it is also one of the most commonplace. Yet in America today the assumption prevails widely that it is visionary and Utopian to expect religious people to follow their deepest convictions at the cost of position, comfort and safety. Indeed we are confronted with an amazing paradox: while a Christian physician is expected to run deadly risks in following his profession, he is regarded as queer if he takes a chance of losing clients by radical activities in behalf of a new social order under the compulsion of ethical sensitiveness. The man who in wartime is applauded for heroism in battle is later likely to be hounded from his position if he stands resolutely against competitive capitalism and the war system of national defense. Courage in behalf of the status quo in one sector is taken for granted, while bravery on the part of an innovator opposing it in another is derided as contrary to human nature!

High religion is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle with nationalism and fascism. And even communism in Russia is attempting to destroy utterly all recognized forms of religion. Secularism is another mortal foe of religion. At this moment organized religion is reeling under repeated blows from many directions. That the churches are losing ground is attested by numerous alarmed witnesses.

Now the malady which is afflicting organized religion in our time is complex, but surely no thoughtful observer will deny that lack of courage on the part of most religious people in following what they know to be the mandates of their faith is responsible for much of the barrenness and impotence of the churches. Every Christian realizes that he is supposed to follow the way of the cross. To the degree that he has insight into the true nature of a competitive economic order and the war system, he is obliged by the character of his religion to throw himself against their inherent iniquities. Age-old experience makes clear, however, that vigorous opposition to the status quo calls forth ruthless persecution, and that in hours of social convulsion even death itself may be the penalty for drastic innovation. The present crisis calls for courageous loyalty on the part of Christians at least equal to that displayed by nationalists, fascists and communists. Timid Christians will never be able to overcome their courageous foes.

"The time is coming when any one who has murdered one of you will suppose he is offering service to God." In such an age as this we are now living. Yet the evidence is cumulatively overwhelming that continued clinging to the existing social order will carry us over Niagara into the rapids of world warfare, tyranny and chaos. On either side of the straight and narrow way we are threatened with a dizzy precipice. To attempt to preserve vested interests by repression and fascist dictatorship is merely to hasten the hour of doom; while in the United States an effort to create a new society by armed revolution and proletarian dictatorship accelerates the downward pace through civil war to disintegration and chaos. Only one pathway leads upward to the city of God; radical transformation of the present social order by pacific means. "Go in at the narrow gate. For the road that leads to destruction is broad and spacious, and there are many who go in by it. But the gate is narrow and the road is hard that leads to life, and there are few that find it." No man can travel this way unless he lays hold on courageous loyalty.

# Can There Be Peace in Palestine?

By Albert Viton

*Jerusalem, July 22.*

ALMOST twelve weeks have passed since I reported to the readers of The Christian Century on the present revolt in Palestine. The revolt is still in full swing. The end is not yet in sight. On the contrary, with every day that passes it gains in momentum; its base among the Arab population expands; the doubtful, the passive, the disinterested are drawn into the current. The situation today is far more serious than it was even last week.

Perhaps the most important development since I wrote has been that the *fellaheen,* the peasants, have entered the struggle, and by entering have given it an altogether new turn. In the beginning, when the city and town Arabs dominated the movement, it was directed primarily against the Jews. Today it is no longer that. It is directed first and foremost against the British. Whether the cause be an instinctive awareness that the imperialist power, Britain, is the real source of their grievances, or a primitive hatred of the infidel foreigner, is debatable. But it is not debatable that it is against Britain that the brunt of the attack is now directed.

Two weeks ago a British correspondent and I took our lives in our hands and went down to Nablus. Four young fellows stopped our car as soon as we entered the town and jumped on the running board. "What do you want?" they asked menacingly. I produced a pass from the Jerusalem strike committee. They changed immediately and began telling us of their latest battle with the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders and how they had killed many of them—sixty, they said with oriental exaggeration.

"But why do you fight the soldiers?" I asked. "The Supreme Arab committee in Jerusalem has said that first of all you should not use violence, and, second, you have nothing against the British."

"Tuzz,"—to the devil—"with those British slaves," they exclaimed in one chorus; "we are the supreme committee, we who go to the hills."

And, in fact, most of the attacks during the last few weeks have been directed against the British; often even against their Arab allies. Police and military posts, patrols, soldiers' camps are now attacked; railroads are damaged; telephones are cut down.

### *Constant Violence*

Not a day passes without its acts of violence; crops destroyed here, groves uprooted there. Bombs still explode on every side, and battles between the soldiers and rebels occur day and night. Last night a regular battle took place somewhere in Jerusalem, the soldiers replying with one-pounders. Nobody knows the total number of Arab dead, but I believe that 250 is not an exaggeration, and probably three times that many have been wounded.

All this in spite of the presence of 15,000 soldiers in the country. Day and night they rush in their rapid,

noiseless truck and armored cars from one place of attack to another. But the attacks always recur. Nor is it true to say that the British are not doing all they can to stop this disturbance. To be sure, unlike the Italians in Libya they have not yet taken to dropping rebels from airplanes, nor have they yet followed the Turkish example of using a few yards of hemp at the first lamp post, although a British officer told me yesterday that in his view simulating the Turks is the "best way of ending this bloody mess." But they are doing everything short of that.

### *Casualty List Suspended*

So thoroughly, indeed, have the troops and soldiers been doing their work that in order not to excite the people too much the government has even stopped reporting the number of casualties among the rebels. Until about two weeks ago the government gave the greatest publicity to all its actions and whenever Arabs were killed it was not bashful about announcing the number. That policy was followed so long as it hoped to intimidate the people and before the soldiers had orders to shoot to kill and then ask questions. The official communiques now confine themselves to the brief statement, "No casualties among the police and military." What happened to the other side does not matter.

Even more terrifying, however, are the constant searches for ammunition which the soldiers undertake in Arab villages and the collective fines imposed on villages for all disorderly acts occurring in their vicinity. I have seen whole villages which soldiers have destroyed during such searches; many of them have been totally abandoned by the inhabitants. Household furniture, the precious little there is of it in a *fellah* household, is invariably destroyed; the oil and the corn which they put up for the coming year spilled on the floor. Dozens of villages are facing starvation as a result.

### *Innocent and Guilty Punished*

Nor does it matter that collective punishment falls on the innocent and the guilty alike If a crime is committed in the neighborhood of a village, the whole village, in the view of the mandatory power, is responsible. Yesterday's Falastin, for example, reported that a collective fine of $5,000 has been levied on Gaza; a fine of $2,140 on Sabrin; $400 on Saadinyah, and when the peasants were unable to pay, the soldiers confiscated their 49 goats. Tanks arrived in Kafr Azum to inform the villagers that if they did not deliver a collective fine of five sheep, 400 chickens and 500 eggs within an hour the village would be destroyed. Since villages where so much can be found are few and far between, and Kafr Azum does not happen to be one of those, the people dispersed, Falastin says, to neighboring towns to borrow the chicken and eggs. All that in one day.

Revolts of this magnitude are not imported articles. No amount of foreign gold and propaganda could keep going a revolt like this, with all the suffering and actual starvation it entails, even if it could start it. Concerning the extent of Italian propaganda in the near east in general and in this country in particular I know at least as much as any other man not connected with the secret political police. Italy did distribute money to agitators about nine months ago; all kinds of printed matter has been sent to Arab households, and the Bari broadcasting station still carries on a strong anti-British propaganda. But that is a far cry from being the motivating force of a mass revolution.

Repetition of this truism is made necessary by the fact that my refusal to hold foreign agencies responsible for everything has roused the indignation of some readers of The Christian Century. "The heretic denies that Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin are the culprits," they sing in one chorus. "Away with him. He is a communist." The truth is that for a week I, too, was taken in by those convenient explanations, and when I thought so, said so in print. Conversations with people in a position to know and seeing the accounts of the supreme strike committee convinced me of my error.

### *Outsiders No Longer Blamed*

By now there is not a Hebrew paper in Palestine which has not retreated from its earlier theories that Italian, German and Russian gold are the cause of it all. I. Klinov, one of the best known Hebrew journalists, published on May 15 (12 days after my article was written) in the sanest and most influential Hebrew paper here, Haaretz, a long article entitled "Who Finances the Arab Strike?" "Following the path of logic," he begins, "our public—and our public was not alone in that—resorted to the theory, and this was the first theory, that the hand of Italy is in this concoction." One by one he then enumerates the other theories—Germany, Hitler, the communists. With 69 lines he demolishes all these theories, arriving finally at the true if bitter conclusion that "the money for financing the strike is given by the Arabs."

Haboker, another Hebrew daily in Tel Aviv, came out one week later, on May 22, with an article by Reubeyni "On the Finances of the Disturbances." "After the publication of my previous article, 'Who Finances the Disturbances?' I regretted its publication," he begins. "Its theory now seems to me erroneous." In the previous article he reiterated the usual stuff about Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin; now he knows better and categorically declares, "Moscow does not enter into account this time, and it appears that neither does Rome." (Since there will be some, I am certain, who will accuse me of "flagrant mistranslation" I had better produce my proof. The article is the first one on the second page, and the sentence quoted is lines 25 and 26, column 2.) On the 25th of that month the Doar Hayom, too, changed its mind, and by the seventh of this month, even Davar, the organ of the socialist Federation of Jewish Labor, began to doubt whether Stalin and Mussolini are really to blame.

### *Impartial Reporting Lacking*

I have, of course, no means of knowing how the American press explains the disturbances here, whether it still harps on Italian-Russian-German gold or whether it has found a different pseudo-explanation. But, knowing the correspondents, I have a fairly good idea. In general, years of reporting foreign events have not increased my respect for our news gathering agencies.

especially with regard to news from second and third rate countries where even our largest news syndicates do not keep American representatives but rely on local talent. That the news should leave much to be desired by way of impartiality is therefore inevitable. This is especially true of Palestine.

### *Is Agreement Possible?*

What is the way out? The strike and insurrection will of course be crushed, perhaps before this article is published. Obviously, with the guns and tanks and airplanes and radios and money on one side, as the high commissioner for Palestine has said, "The end is sure." But is that a solution? The post-war history of Palestine is besmirched with riots, and blood has streamed almost without interruption on the rocks of the Holy Land. Not once throughout this period did the two major communities here cooperate, not even in fighting the British: what was good for the goose, the gander considered either not good enough or intolerably bad. Yet if Palestine is not to become an international slaughterhouse, if in place of a Jewish national home the Zionists do not want to establish a national hospital —or a national cemetery—they will have to arrive at some *modus vivendi* with the Arabs.

Clearly, as we have seen, the revolt is no joke. The mandatory power has concentrated 15,000 troops in this little country (one soldier for every 80 inhabitants; according to this proportion, Britain would need no less than 5,000,000 in India) and has not yet put it down. Nor is it enough to deplore such a situation. It must be remedied. Without hesitancy I say that if the present situation is left unchanged, such disturbances will occur and reoccur in the future in accelerating frequency and with greater violence.

A Zionist magazine here, the Palestine Review, "posed . . . specific queries which go to the root of the matter" to a few Jewish and one Arab notable. The answers are interesting. To the second question, "Do you think that it is possible for Jews and Arabs to arrive at an agreement?" M. Ussishkin, a "veteran Zionist" and present head of the Jewish National fund, replied: "Certainly, but only when the Arabs are faced by a *fait accompli*—that is to say, when the Jews are no longer a minority in the country. . . ." Similar answers were given by other Jewish leaders.

### *British Imperialism*

On the other hand, Mr. Khalil Totah, principal of the Friends school, replied: "It is possible for the Jews and Arabs to arrive at an agreement. . . . The following conditions seem indispensable: The Jews should part company with European imperialism. It is my opinion that British military support does the Jew more harm than good and will always be in the way of an understanding. Jewish idealism must stand on its own feet and win the Arabs. The Jews should demand a self-respecting legislative council at once. . . . An indispensable condition for peace is an open labor market with no discrimination either against Arab or Jew. The Jews should disabuse themselves of the notion that material benefits are decisive. They are important, but not all-powerful. A more human approach is needed."

More serious than anything else is the Zionists' fatalistic hitching of their wagon to the British imperial star. Instead of making a sincere attempt to win even one class of the Arab population they have relied exclusively on British bayonets. Because they deny the right of Arab workers to work for Jews, and in government employment fight for additional Jewish workers, they have not been able to come with clean hands to the Arab laborers. The few attempts of the General Federation of Jewish Labor to organize the Arab workers were bound to fail, because, as an Arab told me, "They are trying to organize us to demand higher wages so that our sole attraction to the Jewish employer, lower wages, may disappear." By not including Arab capital in the various industrial and public utility undertakings they have antagonized Arab capitalists, whose money perforce lies idle; by buying the land from beneath the feet of the Arab tenant they have instilled fear in the majority of the Arab population, and by bringing western notions about the relationship of capital and labor they have earned the enmity of Arab feudal exploiters. The enmity of the latter would not have been a serious matter had they won the confidence and good will of the other classes, but since they made no effort to win the good will of the Arab laborers and peasants, the enmity of the feudal lords becomes dangerous. Instead, they have relied on England to deliver the Promised Land.

### *Looking to the Future*

Indeed, the secretary of the Supreme Arab council, Fuad Saba, said to me this morning: "I really cannot understand the Zionist leaders. Instead of showing concrete good will to us, they are relying on British guns to support them. But what guarantee have they that Britain will not treat them in the same way as she treated the emperor of Ethiopia? Or the Assyrians? Or us? Do you really think that in case of war Britain will keep a huge army here to guard the Zionists and will not prefer to come to an understanding with us? The future is ours; we can afford to wait. A handful of Jews cannot safeguard Britain's air-route over a hostile Arabia. A war will mean not only the end of political Zionism but, if the Zionists pursue their present policy it might mean the extermination of the Jews already here."

The total growth of the Jewish population during the last 16 years has been about 21,000 per annum, while the Arab excess of birth over death is about 26 per 1000 of the population, or around 25,000 per year. At this rate, and taking for the Arab natural increase the lowest estimation possible while excluding Arab immigration, they will reach the million and three-quarters figure by 1955, while the Jews, taking a reasonable estimate on the basis of the past 16 years, will just have reached the million mark. This analysis is corroborated by a graph presented by Mr. Mills, the director of immigration and statistics, to the commission to investigate the disturbances of 1929. Mr. Mills took the average Jewish increase through immigration as ten thousand, which seems a reasonable estimate, and the annual excess of births over deaths for the whole population as 19 per 1000, which is far too low

for the Arab population, and showed that the Jewish population can never overtake the Arab.

Palestine will therefore always have to remain a land of two peoples in which the Jews will have to live as a minority. As a very substantial minority, to be sure, but a minority none the less. Not even if the absorptive capacity of Palestine were unlimited and there were no Arab opposition is it likely that England would permit them to become the majority. The pending law to restrict the sale of land shows in which direction the official wind is blowing.

### *Pan-Arab Threat*

Nor should the danger of the Pan-Arab movement be overlooked. Nothing can stop the natural drawing together of the Arab world. More and more the bonds tying together Arabi Saudia, the kingdom of Ibn Saud, Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Palestine are being strengthened. Present events in Palestine have sent a tremor through the whole Arab body. The press of all Arab countries leaves not the slightest doubt of the tremendous enthusiasm with which Arabs of other countries greet the struggle of their Palestinian brethren.

Syria is supporting the strike both with funds and by refusing to sell food to Palestine. Monster protest demonstrations have been held in front of the British residency in Baghdad; members of the Iraqi parliament have used the parliamentary tribune to threaten Britain with dire consequences if she does not change her policy; children of Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Egypt have collected funds on the streets for the aid of the Palestine Arabs. Even Egypt, which until now stood aloof from the struggles of the Arabs, has now entered the field in spite of British and Wafdist attempts to keep down the political temperature of the people. So outspoken has the Egyptian press become that the Palestine government has had to prohibit the entry of many papers into the country, and in those which do arrive whole columns are blotted over with purple ink. As far as Hedjaz and Yemen and India has the call of the Palestine Arabs reached, and sympathetic resolutions as well as money has been the reply.

### *Danger to Jews Elsewhere*

Nor should the situation of the three-quarters of a million Jews in Arab countries be overlooked. The hatred which the Zionist policy in Palestine has evoked is making their position extremely precarious. The Hebrew press here is filled with reports of suffering among those Jews, and a few days ago Davar, the largest Hebrew paper in Palestine, published a letter from Damascus which said that "so bad is the situation today that a Jew cannot walk the streets of Damascus and he must be careful on certain Beyruth streets." Early last month a first-rate massacre was prevented in Damascus only by the timely publication of a proclamation by Ekhri al-Baroodi, the Syrian nationalist leader, asking the people not to molest the Jews because "the Jews are the brothers of the Moslems and there is no connection between the Damascus Jews and the Zionists of Palestine." In Iraq the situation is even worse, and a professor of the Hebrew university who recently came back from a very extensive tour told me a few days ago that even in remote Afghanistan and Kurdistan villages the Jews are feeling the repercussions.

At this crucial moment, therefore, the Zionist leaders might do worse than to rethink their aim and policies pursued to attain that aim. They started out with the aim of making Palestine, to use the words of Weizmann, the leader of political Zionism, "as Jewish as England is English." Before the Haycraft commission to investigate the 1921 riots, Dr. Eder, then head of the Jewish agency, stated: "There can be only one national home in Palestine, and that the Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance as soon as the number of that race is sufficiently increased. For 19 years this aim has been pursued with a devotion and self-sacrifice unique perhaps in the annals of history. That deserves commendation. But is it wise? Moreover, is it possible?

### *Wisdom from Dr. Magnus*

Most of Jewry's great thinkers have come out against these exaggerated ambitions, counseling moderation and peace. Dr. Jehudah Magnus, the present rector of the Hebrew university, and certainly the finest spiritual light of Palestine, wrote a few years ago: "We cannot establish our work as it should be established if it be against the determined will of the Arab world, and if we have not the good will of the 'good European' world on our side."

Developments during the last three months show that with peaceful intentions and friendly actions Jews might yet be able to settle not only in Palestine but in the whole near east; with blood curdling manifestos and constant hostile actions, never. If antagonized, no military force is sufficient to dominate these hilly countries and the fierce people inhabiting them. Political banditry and guerrila warfare are institutions of long standing in Islam, developed into fine arts through long usage. Experience has shown that tanks and airplanes are worse than useless against small bands operating in the hills around Nablus: though armed with all the deadly instruments at the disposal of a modern state, the French were paralyzed for two years by small Syrian revolutionary bands.

Should the Arabs decide to terrorize the Jewish population and the military now in the country, all the king's men and all the king's horses, with the navy and marines thrown in, will be impotent to safeguard life and property. Today the Arab bombs are still, in the words of the official communiques, "primitive," but wise statesmanship should look into the future. Jewish colonies, in spite of the barbed-wire fences and fortresses built as houses, will be raided; crops and orchards will disappear in smoke; travelers will be massacred on the highways. For the Arabs still control the hills of Palestine; they are the ones who know the short cuts and by-paths, as I found out during a three-week hiking tour. And it is a military maxim that he who controls the mountains controls such a country.

# BOOKS

## John Wesley—Stained-Glass Saint or Living Prophet?

JOHN WESLEY AND MODERN RELIGION. *By Umphrey Lee. Cokesbury Press, $2.50.*

IF THE GREAT leaders of the past are to be of any service to any particular generation, they must be reexamined in the light of the needs of that generation. This need for reassessment is found in every realm, in politics, in economics, in literature, as well as in religion. Last year Professor George Croft Cell in his "Rediscovery of John Wesley" reinterpreted Wesley's theology in terms of present day needs. Much the same task is now attempted in this present volume by Dr. Lee, who has already two other books on John Wesley to his credit.

The questions Dr. Lee sets out to answer are: Has Wesley any significance for contemporary religion; Is John Wesley a "stained-glass saint or a living prophet"? Is the traditional picture of Wesley's experience and theology the true picture? Was Wesley's conversion experience in Aldergate street on May 24, 1738, as important in the development of his theology and religion as the traditional view maintains? He is a bold man indeed who would dispute this traditional view, especially at a time when at least one great branch of the Episcopal Methodism has officially determined on pointing the whole church toward a reemphasis upon the Aldergate street experience.

The author is too thoroughly trained in historical method to be satisfied with anything less than a thorough going-over of all the materials available, and in Wesley's case they are almost embarrassingly abundant. None, seemingly, have escaped him—the "Journals," the "Letters," the "Sermons," the political pamphlets and other writings, all have been combed. In the first five chapters he deals with Wesley's religious development; in the last seven he traces the emerging of Wesley's theology. And what does he find?

He finds that the Aldergate experience was "not an evangelical but a mystical conversion—that is, the conversion of a religious man to a higher state of religious devotion." Nor was it highly emotional; nor did it make him a liberal churchman; nor did he continually hark back to that experience in later years, as his followers have done. He finds that Wesley's religion was God-given as over against the humanistic religion, so prominent in his day and ours; that God was both transcendent and immanent, not "completely other" but a God who can and does have commerce with men; that man is dependent both upon God and upon his own efforts.

Wesley was a son of the enlightenment; he was anxious to free men from the shackles of superstition; he revolted against unworthy conceptions of God; but he was no preacher of a crusade for obscurantism. Though giving large place to emotion in the religious life, and laying, as he did, an emotional basis for good deeds, he was thus opening the way for "an intensely individualistic, subjective and emotional religion"; and yet "he intended nothing of the sort." Wesley could no more reduce religion to emotion than to ceremony or dogma. Man is dependent upon the workings of divine grace, but there also must be the constant discipline of "a true imitation of Christ and the aid of the church." Wesley was fully aware of the wrongs in this world, but he held that man could do something about them, that the bias of human nature toward evil can only be changed by the grace of God plus discipline and education, a formula which our own time needs and can apply.

This is a book for the times, and not for Methodists only—a fact evidently recognized by those responsible for the Religious Book club selections. The author concludes that John Wesley *is* much more than a "stained-glass saint"—he is a prophet for our time, "warning against the separation of God and man by minimizing the place of either."

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

## Socialist Empire of the Incas

DAY OF IMMENSE SUN. *By Blair Niles. Bobbs Merrill Company, $2.50.*

IN THESE DAYS of the "new deal," a "planned society" and communism, Blair Niles has gone to Peru to study the communal life of the ancient Inca empire. After two years of intense research she has brought back to us this beautiful story which, along with its powerful emotional sweep, gives also an accurate historical picture of the most remarkable of ancient civilizations. Readers will be surprised at the revelations here of the perfect organization of that great socialistic empire which extended from Colombia on the north down to Chile and Argentina on the south. It was so well organized that there was practically no want, little crime and a remarkable amount of contentment—to which the complete absence of money no doubt contributed much. The way this life was mercilessly destroyed by the Spanish conquistadores, blessed by the Christian priest Valverde, in the treacherous murder of the Inca Atahualpa, is told in dramatic terms.

Such information is only incidental, however, in a romantic love story of peculiar beauty and chaste idealism. The character of the shepherd boy Tito is one that will return to the reader again and again as an embodiment of beauty, simplicity and strength. He adores a little girl of noble birth chosen to become a Virgin of the Sun in the convent at Cuzco. From the simple life of shepherds and peasants one is led through the complexities of life in the family of the Inca, on to the invasion of the empire by the Spaniards, to the execution of the Son of the Sun, and finally to the first pulse of life in that new Incan-Spanish nation, Peru.

Blair Niles is a charming Virginia woman who has become captivated with the Latin American scene. After writing attractive travel books about Ecuador, Colombia and Haiti, she has turned to portraying early history in fiction. In "Maria Paluna" we were given a romance of the early days of Guatemala, which combined a love story with a vivid picture of the fusion of the two cultures through the union of one of the best conquistadores with a lovely Indian maiden. Now Mrs. Niles goes still deeper into continental history and brings us this colorful picture of Inca life.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN.

## Books in Brief

ANTI-SEMITISM YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW. *By Rabbi Lee J. Levinger. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

With deep feeling and with a sympathy for his own people as obvious as it is avowed, but without rancor or bitterness, Rabbi Levinger tells the whole story of anti-semitism through the ages. The Jew is "the eternal minority," and whenever the world situation has produced a general repression of minorities the Jew has borne the brunt of it. There is no cure for this recurrent mania of Jew-baiting except by the development of a civilization that has in it a permanent place for minorities—not as temporarily tolerated but alien elements, but as valuable assets in the totality of a rich and varied culture. As an aid to the understanding of the whole contemporary problem, not

only in Germany but also in America, Rabbi Levinger's book is one of the very best.

DARK CONQUEST. *By William Heyliger. Appleton-Century Company, $2.00.*

In the main a sentimental novel which tells how character and unusual ability may triumph over a great handicap. As in most novels of this sort, the characters are too perfect and the events unroll too inevitably for conviction. But the passages are interesting which inform us how the blind man's dog must be trained; and the reader's heart will be touched by the chapters on the blind man's struggle toward hope and social activity with his new friend's guidance.

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST. *By Taraknath Das. Longmans, Green & Company, $2.00.*

When the citizen of a foreign nation obtains a full view of the foreign policy of his own country, he is usually as surprised as the man who finds that his hand has performed a feat of unconscious writing. We all have feelings for or against foreign nationalities; but with regard to the motives of international politics, most of us live in a dense fog. This accurately factual book lets in the sunlight. Dr. Das is a native Indian, and a naturalized American citizen. His knowledge of Asiatic history and politics is profound, and is conveyed with vigor and precision. Whether the reader finds that Dr. Das has underestimated the economic motives of eastern nations or the danger of militaristic bias in a heavily armed state, is another question; but no one who wishes to understand what Japan, Great Britain and the United States really intend in China should overlook this volume.

RELIGION ON THE AIR, A RADIO GUIDE FOR RELIGIOUS PEOPLE. *Published quarterly by Higley Printing Company, Butler Ind., 25 cents.*

An interesting and useful summary of information about religious radio programs available in all parts of the country, kept up to date by quarterly re-issue.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## What Do We Owe Dependents?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Referring to your editorial on Dr. Cadman's estate in the August 12 issue, I presume we understand that his estate, announced as "less than $10,000," does not indicate the amount of life insurance, if any, paid to his heirs. You seem to commend this very small estate but do you feel that a man leaving possibly an invalid widow and other dependents should try to leave them with greater resources than the $200 or $300 per year that a $10,000 estate would provide?

Many people between 50 and 70 years of age under present conditions cannot hope for any definite pension relief in the case of long or invalided retirement, nor any considerable provision for their dependents in case of death. Are they justified therefore in giving away everything above, say $10,000, should they be so lucky as to accumulate even that much?

New York, N. Y. E. M. CONOVER.

## Fascism in Protestantism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your analysis of fascism in your recent editorial, "No Fascist Church," is a good one on the whole. But I wonder if you believe your own analysis? For when you proceed to apply this analysis to the church you omit what seems to me to be the most significant of your items—the economic. I supposed that, since you placed it first in your list, you meant to give it such significance.

To me, the fascistic danger of the Protestant church lies in its middle class personnel and character. Can its religious insight triumph over its natural middle class economic outlook? Speaking in terms of a majority, the answer is a pretty likely "no." The fact that the church cannot see now, in either the local or the world scene, the economic key to the social crisis—namely, that in the question of the control of the vast, modern, industrial machine and its output lies the ethical issue of our day—seems to me virtually to preclude the possibility of its seeing the meaning of fascism when it approaches. Thus, the blindness of the church to the issue of labor's right to organize under the NRA, to the distinction between real as against middle and upper class recovery from the depression, and to any choice between the vulgar cruelties of a reactionary Hitler and the anti-religious demonstrations of a church-oppressed people like the Spanish workers, are current instances of the class character of the church's mind.

I was disappointed and surprised that in asking whether or not the church has fascist tendencies in it you should assist it in its blindness. Even after your own analysis of fascism as "the effort of an economic middle class, finding its status imperiled, to defend the existing system," you point only to the dangers in the church of regimentation and of support of extra-legal methods of enforcing morality.

Is The Christian Century also unable to transcend its middle class character?

The Wyoming Church, H. NORMAN SIBLEY.
Millburn, N. J.

## She Asked For It

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Will you not please read the enclosed and compare with your superficial appraisement? Surely you need not approve of the Plan before you are fair to its adherents.

Even the headline in your number of July 29 is disappointing, coming from a "Journal of Religion."

Camarillo, Calif. (MRS.) W. J. DEAN.

[The "enclosed," Frank R. Kent's story of the Townsend convention, has been read. A quotation from it follows: "The simple fact is that *but for this one weird economic idea* they are about the most conservative lot in the country. They are law-abiding, respectable, religious men and women to whom the Bible and the flag are sacred, who cherish the constitution and revere the supreme court! No class more deeply abhors communism, collectivism or socialism."—THE EDITORS.]

## Billions, Not Millions

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Toward the bottom of the first column on page 1105 of my article in the issue of August 19 on "Chaos in the Housing Industry," either you or I left out three zeros, which makes Miss Wood seem to say that 9,000,000 homes could be produced for a mere $40,000,000. It should be forty billion.

Falls Church, Va. T. SWANN HARDING.

## Where Were the Ministers?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is taken for granted that when a Paul Batash is framed in Indiana, and a Rainey Bethea provides a carnival of sadism in Kentucky, that the socially minded preachers elsewhere in the country will make mighty protests. Such flagrant cases of brutality arouse the righteous indignation of those, like myself, who are located in communities where such things have not yet happened. All of which raises these questions: Where were the Protestant ministers of Angola and Owensboro when these atrocities were

being committed? What action did they take, located as they were in strategic positions? Did they continue to preach the "simple gospel" or were they unsung heroes who fought a losing battle for justice and mercy?

Methodist Church, Round Top, N. Y. ROGER J. SQUIRE.

## The Legion and Paul Batash

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am deeply chagrined by the circumstances which you relate in the editorial entitled, "Let the Legion Show Its Liberalism." I enclose a check made out to the Chicago Civil Liberties committee as a legionnaire's contribution to the defense fund for Paul Batash. Will you please see that it is forwarded to the proper persons?

Furthermore, I have called the matter to the attention of some of the liberal leaders in the legion. I am very certain that Mr. Murphy and numerous other national leaders will deplore such un-Americanism as our comrades have demonstrated in this situation.

Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa. ALBION R. KING.

## Another Unconventional Prayer

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The following is an unconventional prayer found in Chester cathedral, England: "Give me a good digestion, Lord, and also something to digest. Give me a healthy body, Lord, with sense to keep it at its best. Give me a healthy mind, good Lord, to keep the good and pure in sight, which seeing sin is not appalled, and finds a way to set it right. Give me a mind that is not bored, that does not whimper, whine or sigh; don't let me worry overmuch about the fussy thing called I. Give me a sense of humor, Lord; give me the grace to see a joke, to get some happiness from life, and pass it on to other folk."

Pittsfield, N. H. HARRY TAYLOR.

## Roman Catholics and Communism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your issue of August 12, there is a reference made by Boyd Barrett to a statement which he presumes me to have made concerning communism.

Knowing your love of accuracy and truth I feel certain you will give me the courtesy of your columns to make the following observations:

1. I have never stated that Catholics should "take hold of what is good in communism." What I did say was: "We need not go out in search of what is good in communism. We know what is good in it, namely, what they have taken from Christianity."

2. I have never suggested "a new Catholic attitude toward communism." I did say "that the business of Catholics is not alone to denounce communists but to bring them to a knowledge of faith for we have been sent into the world not to damn but to save."

3. It is a gross misrepresentation of facts to state that "there is not a tremendous amount of difference between the Catholic social program as outlined by Pius XI and the moderate communistic program outlined by Earl Browder." As a matter of fact I subscribe with all my heart and soul to every pronouncement the Holy Father has made concerning communism as one of the greatest evils threatening civilization. I also utterly repudiate any suggestion that the communistic program of Earl Browder is "moderate." I know Earl Browder said in his Columbia broadcast that he was not opposed to the family, to private property or to religion. I know he stated these same theses in his book, but I am not so gullible as Boyd Barrett. Anyone familiar with the 7th annual congress of the 3rd internationale knows that Dimitrov characterized it as a congress of new tactics and that Andre, Stalin and Kuusinen recommended non-revolutionary methods to gain revolutionary ends. Furthermore the International Communist of May, French edition, praised Earl Browder's book for its clever tactics which in plain language means that communism has only changed its approach not its principles.

What is "moderate" and "new" then in Browder is only his approach and not his program. It is just such deliberate distortions as those the author Boyd Barrett has made in this article which betrays his spiritual uneasiness. It serves neither the common cause of good journalism nor of communism which he would defend to put into the mouth of a loyal obedient son of the Holy See a contradiction to the voice of Peter.

In brief, communism is not founded on "justice and service to fellow men" as Boyd Barrett would have us believe. It is a common enemy, an immensurable persecution threatening religion and human civilization.

Washington, D. C. FULTON J. SHEEN.

# The Question Box

*Some time ago you spoke rather slightingly of spiritualism in the Question Box. Would you mind giving your reasons for this attitude? You are of course aware that large numbers of people in many lands are firm believers in the doctrine and think they have evidence of its truth.* C. C. B., Los Angeles, Calif.

THE belief in commerce with discarnate spirits is nearly as old as history. The recognition of dead relatives and friends in dreams may have suggested that they were still existent and capable of holding communication with the living. The literatures of most primitive nations hold references to such superstitions and to the forms of necromancy that were practiced in the attempt to gain assistance or to avoid dangers from the dead. The Old Testament contains many references to the belief, both in the efforts of the prophets to stamp out the delusion, and the evidences of the strong hold it had even upon intelligent and official minds, as in the case of Saul's despairing resort to traffic with the woman of Endor (I 28:12). Isaiah's strong denunciation of the deception (Isaiah 8:19) discloses the attitude of the saner minds in Israel regarding the system.

That there is a strong appeal to the bereaved in the idea that they may avail themselves of some technique of communication with their departed is understandable. It is the basis of the prevalence of spiritism and the widespread patronage of mediums by those of emotional nature and a certain grade of intelligence. Nor is the answer to be found in the fraudulent character of much if not most of the so-called "spirit manifestations." Many mysterious things happen in the spiritistic seances which seem very convincing to the susceptible. Even the fact that no phenomena have yet been witnessed that have not been duplicated by adepts who profess no spiritist control is not a full refutation of the practice. The investigations of the Society for physical research, both in the United States and in Europe, have widened in marked degree the area of psychic experimentation. Yet none of the findings of such researches have established in any degree the reality of communication with the departed.

My objections to spiritism lie in the failure of any of its professed disclosures to be convincing, as beyond the region either of fraud or scientific explanation; that of all the alleged "communications" recorded, not one has added to man's knowledge of the spiritual life or revealed a truth not already familiar to the literature of religion; that considering the assurances offered in holy scripture regarding the future life, spiritism appears to be a crude and fatuous attempt at a "short cut" to a form of knowledge which can only be attained by growth in spiritual stature and normal progress in the realities of the kingdom of God; that if there is truth in the reality of communication with our loved ones in the larger life, it should be of such nature as to pass directly along the lines which love and familiarity have opened through the years, and not be dependent upon strangers whose professional interest and characters afford no adequate basis for posing as intermediaries between us and those we love; and above all, that no spiritist has ever had the audacity to claim a revelation from Jesus Christ, who of all others, if such messages are possible in our present state of development, would be most eager to add to the sum of our knowledge. H. L. W.

# New York Has New Labor Law

**Minimum "Factory Age" Fixed at 16—Lansbury Urges Conference of Rulers—Rabbi Margolis Dies**

*(Correspondence from New York)*

NEW YORK, Aug. 31.—New York has a new child labor law. It advances from 14 to 16 the age at which children may discontinue full-time school in order to seek employment, and it will become effective this week. Enacted under the vigorous sponsorship of Governor Lehman, it recognizes valid exceptions to this limit. In mercantile establishments, offices, restaurants, hotels, barber shops, bowling alleys, shoe-polishing establishments and other places of business and trade, the same minimum age is fixed except that boys and girls 15 and over may receive special employment certificates when they are found incapable of profiting by further instruction.

The law will not affect the status of children employed before its enactment, nor will it prohibit the issuance of vacation work permits when school is not in session. Newsboys and bootblacks may ply their trade at the age of 12 if they have street trade badges.

* * *

**Lansbury Urges Conference of World Rulers**

Even before President Roosevelt's suggestion that a conference of the nations' rulers be called to halt the world's march towards war, George Lansbury, veteran pacifist, wrote a letter to the New York Times, urging that such a conference be called. Taking his cue from the President's speech on "Good Neighbors, Democracy and Peace," Mr. Lansbury suggested that political leaders "such as the prime ministers of the great powers, Italy, France, Japan, Russia, Germany and Britain," be invited to an informal meeting somewhere in the United States to discuss in a friendly, personal manner the present condition of the world. The President is the one statesman, he thinks, "who can give the call which will be listened and responded to." Mr. Lansbury recently spoke at the Emergency Peace campaign opening in Carnegie hall.

* * *

**Interfaith Conference Rebukes Father Coughlin**

Father Coughlin's challenge to the Jews to affirm their belief in the principle of brotherly love met with a stern protest from the National Conference of Jews and Christians last week. His words, coming in the wake of previous anti-semitic implications, were quoted as follows: "We are a Christian organization in that we believe in the principle of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' With that principle I challenge every Jew in the nation to tell me that he does or does not believe in it." Said Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University of America: "Father Coughlin's reference to 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is bad exegesis, bad history and bad argument. It is unjust to the Jews and unfortunate in the political campaign."

* * *

**Declares Illegal Operations On the Increase**

Americans are among the most ignorant people in the world on the subject of birth control. This statement, in similar words, was repeated and emphasized by Mrs. Edith How-Martin of England, in an address at Town hall, last week, sponsored by the American Birth Control center. Mrs. How-Martin said further that our ban against the dissemination of birth control information was causing an increasing number of women to resort to illegal operations. Although she considered this a "tribute to women in their determination to aid this cause," she added that it was a severe indictment of our governmental agencies in permitting such conditions to exist. "Governments are doing their best," says she, "to abolish nature's methods of population control through famine, disease, pestilence, infanticide and war. But disaster will come unless human control is substituted for nature's way." She believes that it "is hopeless to think of getting rid of war if we pay no attention to the problem of population."

* * *

**Jersey Industries Now Threaten to "Go West"**

Another large textile plant in New Jersey threatens to close up, throwing 800 to 1,000 workers out of employment. Several have already set the precedent and have gone south and west in search of "better labor conditions." I have often wondered just where all these industries finally land, and during the past week of touring through the Cumberland mountains I have discovered a few of them. A shirt factory in LaFollette, Tennessee, I have been told, retails at $1.29 each shirts which can be made for 86 cents per dozen. The workers, mostly poor mountain people, receive as little as $1.50 per week. Not being able to provide all the necessities of life on such a meager income they suffer from malnutrition and lack of medical care. Their living conditions are deplorable and the Save the Children fund, with headquarters in New York, has a social worker on the job to render its kindly ministry to these victims of capitalist exploitation. In Sparta, Tenn., the "progressive business" interests have sought to induce eastern industries to establish themselves in the mountains. They offer cheap labor and the peace that comes from the lack of labor organizations.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

**Merge Brotherhoods in Merged Churches**

At a convention held in Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 18-20, the Evangelical brotherhood of the former Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Churchmen's league of the former Reformed Church in the United States were merged into the Churchmen's brotherhood of the new Evangelical and Reformed church. The combined membership of the new body will be more than 30,000, with nearly 700 local organizations. Headquarters are to be continued at St. Louis and Philadelphia.

# Make Preaching Mission Plans

**Local Missions to Precede National Session—Vote Down School R.O.T.C.—Registration Irregularities**

*(Correspondence from St. Louis)*

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 22.—With the appointment of Dr. C. Oscar Johnson of Third Baptist church as chairman of a committee of one hundred in charge of arrangements, preparation for the National Preaching mission's visit to St. Louis have begun. The sessions here will open October 11 and will run for four days. Local congregations will be asked to cooperate by having their own preaching missions of eight day duration just before the national leaders reach the city. The 15 outstanding clergymen from various parts of the country who will speak here have not as yet been announced by name. During the first three days of the mission meetings will be held in two places during the morning hours, with five seminar classes each afternoon. A mass meeting on Sunday afternoon will close the program.

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**City Votes Against Military Training for High School**

Carbondale, southern Illinois city across the river, voted on July 25 by a count of 442 to 347 not to have an R.O.T.C. unit in the Community high school. The election was financed by private contributions and judges and clerks were asked to serve without pay. The Carbondale school board recently voted to apply to the war department for the installation of a military course in the high school. This decision brought such a storm of protest that the board finally determined to put the matter to a vote of the citizens. Prior to the election a heated campaign was waged for several weeks, with the chamber of commerce, the Lion's club and the American Legion urging military training for the high school pupils, and the teachers, ministers, churches and woman's club opposing it. The school board, in negotiating with the war department to supply military training for the youth of Carbondale, plainly did not represent the majority of public opinion in the community.

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**Registration Irregularities Exposed by Press**

Shocking irregularities in the registration lists of the city have been exposed by an investigation conducted by the Star-Times and the Post-Dispatch, just before the primary elections of August 4. Citing conclusive evidence after a rigorous canvass in the various wards of the city, the newspapers have charged that possibly more than 46,000 fraudulent names are being carried on the books as bona fide registered voters. One check disclosed as high as 56 fraudulent names registered from one vacant house. Such cases were numerous. The board of election commissioners took the disclosures nonchalantly and up to the

present time little or no action has been taken to purge the voting lists. Appeals have been made to Governor Park to discharge the members of the board but to date such efforts have been fruitless.

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### City Protests Watered Milk

Close on the heels of a meeting of civic organizations which demanded a standard milk ordinance as recommended by the federal government, a number of local dairies have been charged by the city authorities with watering their milk. The charges have been based upon evidence procured by milk inspectors who gathered samples from the dairies. The accusations have brought indignant replies from the officials of the milk distributing firms, with the largest independent dairy in the city running large advertisements in the newspapers extolling the virtues of the firm's business history. Nevertheless, there is a growing feeling that the laws pertaining to milk distribution here should be strengthened, and if the medical society, the health department and the various welfare groups have their way, they will put a model ordinance through the city council.

* * *

### Missouri Drought Reaches Critical Stage

With weeks of unprecedented heat and lack of rain, crop conditions in many parts of the state have grown extremely critical. I have just returned from a trip through the Ozark regions where many farmers do not have the promise of any crops at all. Trees by the scores have withered and died, and farmers are reporting that they are putting factory canned vegetables on their tables. It looks as if only direct federal relief will enable the farmers of many sections to carry on through the winter, if they are to feed themselves and their stock and stay on their farms.

* * *

### And So Forth

Lawrence Plank, formerly pastor of First Unitarian church of Omaha, Neb., will come to St. Louis in September to assume his duties as associate of George R. Dodson at the Church of the Unity.

Harold P. Schultz, formerly librarian at Eden seminary, has been appointed city missionary of the Evangelical and Reformed churches and will assist J. W. Varwig and H. J. Damm in social service work in the city hospitals and institutions.

Centenary Methodist Episcopal church, south is celebrating its 96th anniversary with a program extending from Aug. 23 to Oct. 4.

Theodore S. Smylie, pastor of Central Presbyterian church, new president of the ministerial alliance of greater St. Louis, has announced an intensified program to build up the morale of this group. Working with a board of councillors, Dr. Smylie has announced that a number of nationally known church leaders will be brought to the city to address seminar group meetings on various problems of the city ministry.

BEN MORRIS RIDPATH.

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### Bishop Davies Dies

Rt. Rev. Thomas Frederick Davies, bishop of Western Massachusetts in the Episcopal church, died suddenly on August 25 at 64 years of age.

# Pastor Scores Atlanta 'Debs'

**Protests Indulgences of Society in Face of Vital Issues—Tampa Ministers to Aid Labor Federation**

*(Correspondence from the Southeast)*

TAMPA, Aug. 20.—Rev. Peter Marshall, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian church, Atlanta, Ga., told the Bible conference at Massanetta Springs, Va., last week, that Atlanta debutantes were hard drinkers and were often brought home from an evening entertainment "gloriously drunk." Back in the home town the young ladies composing the local debutante club denounced Mr. Marshall's description of their conduct and declared that he didn't know them at all. "I have yet to see a girl in Atlanta hauled in," declared a widely known Atlanta matron and perennial chaperon of society girls at social functions. Even ministers joined the protest against the injustice of general condemnation of Atlanta society for intoxication and bad acting generally. But Mr. Marshall, who has a tendency toward sensational utterances, was raising a serious question about the preoccupation with indulgences of the classes known as the best people in southern cities, and elsewhere today, while significant issues confront the country. He said further: "American life, business and social conditions are such as existed in former times preceding the fall of empires." He denounced dishonesty and sharp business practices that force many young men to surrender their idealism when they enter modern business. The socialites, in their resentment of the inaccuracies concerning the extent to which their ranks imbibed at social functions missed the point, it appears from their reactions.

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### Peace Campaign Prepares Fall Drive

Reports from over the southeast indicate thorough preparation for a fall campaign in the interest of peace under the direction of the Emergency Peace campaign. Almost all the larger cities have set dates for conferences and mass meetings in October and November and an active movement is in prospect to extend the work of the campaign to the smaller towns and rural communities. A number of young people and college students have volunteered for this service.

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### Baptists Hold Christian Life Conferences

An elaborate pageant portraying the life of Luther Rice, pioneer in foreign mission endeavor among American Baptists, was presented Sunday, Aug. 16, at the Southern Baptist Assembly grounds, Ridgecrest, N. C. The program was introduced as a feature of the fall celebrations of the Rice centennial which will culminate in services at the grave of the early missionary leader in South Carolina in September. Dr. Rufus W. Weaver, chairman of the centennial committee and executive secretary of the Baptist association of the District of Columbia, made the introductory address at Ridgecrest. The annual Christian life conferences followed the Rice pageant with addresses each day by Dr. James H. Franklin, president of Crozer Theological seminary. Hon. Josephus Daniels, ambassador to Mexico, who was scheduled to speak on this program, was unable to leave Mexico. Hon. Pat M. Neff, president of Baylor university and former governor of Texas, was also a speaker. The programs were under the direction of Dr. P. E. Burroughs, Nashville, Tenn.

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### Ministers Plan Mass Service For Labor Delegates

The Tampa Ministers' association has announced plans for a mass service in a riverside park for the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in annual session here in November. This correspondent is president of the association and has received assurance of the cooperation of the Federal council of churches in the promotion of what will probably be one of the largest open air religious services ever held in the south. Labor has been more poorly organized in Tampa than in any other industrial and trading center in the country and the coming of the convention of the A. F. of L. is thought to have significance for the future of local labor conditions.

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### Florida Refuge for Stricken Farmers

Seeking to transplant agriculturists of the stricken areas of the west to Florida, state and federal agencies have been drafting plans to bring farm families from the drought areas and rehabilitate them on open lands in this state. The federal department of agriculture has options on 35,000 acres of Florida land for potential farm usage. Florida has room for many times its present population (1,468,211) and the state chamber of commerce and various agencies have been seeking to attract many new permanent residents.

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### And So Forth

Dr. Keer Boyce Tupper, formerly pastor of the First Baptist church, Philadelphia, has been named special lecturer on English Bible in the School of Christianity, Mercer university, Macon, Ga. Long a leader among Baptists, Dr. Tupper comes into the south to join the faculty of the school of which his father, Rev. H. A. Tupper, was connected in its early days. The School of Christianity, which succeeded the theological seminary maintained in the university until 1927, has been unusually successful in creating an interest in the study of the Bible and Christianity among students generally.

Dr. Edgar Dillard, for the past eighteen years pastor of the Southside Baptist church, Birmingham, Ala., has been named director of promotion for the Southern Baptist convention and will resign his pastorate.

Catholic churchmen, members of the Catholic Laymen's association of Georgia, joined the largest Catholic retreat in the state at Washington, Ga., last week. Bishop Gerland O'Hara, Savannah, head of the state diocese, a leader of the retreat movement in the south, will be master of the Washington quiet time.

Five states in the southeast, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee and

Virginia, have not taken advantage of the federal aid for old age pensions in the Roosevelt security program. In Florida the Townsendites have increased their strength steadily and are credited with the election of a United States senator and three congressmen. In Georgia old age pension advocates, other than Townsendites, have organized. In South Carolina the issue has appeared in the senatorial contest.

Willie Sue Blagdon, the young woman who was flogged by a band of men at Earle, Ark., recently announced her candidacy for congress on the socialist ticket at Memphis. The socialists have a candidate for governor in Tennessee also, Mrs. Kate Stockton of Fentress county.

Revivals are in full swing "away down south in Dixie" now. The rural sections are seriously engaged in the August meetings and the Baptists and Methodists stand to gain large numbers in this area in the next few weeks.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

### National Methodist Press Changes Editors

Dr. Harry E. Woolever, who has been editor of the National Methodist press since its founding in Washington in 1923, has resigned from that connection and will devote his time to the Christian Crusade and the general conference commission on interdenominational relations. His successor with the Methodist press will be Dr. Jacob S. Payton, formerly minister of Asbury Methodist church in Pittsburgh.

### Dr. N. C. McPherson Has New Position

Dr. N. C. McPherson, jr., for many years associated with Garrett Biblical institute at Evanston, Ill. and later with Southern Methodist university in Dallas, Texas, as professor of systematic theology, has become director of the Division of ministerial enlistment and guidance of the Methodist Episcopal church, south. He is beginning his new work, with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn., this month.

### Presbyterians Report Gains

The Presbyterian church in the U.S.A. reports that for the first time in seven years the annual contributions of members of that church show an increase over the preceding year. 8,975 local churches contributed $36,801,474, which is more than one million dollars more than was contributed last year. There was a similar increase in the number of communicants added to the church.

### Dr. W. B. Norton, Veteran Religious Editor, Dies

On Aug. 31 at Portland, Ore., Dr. W. B. Norton, Methodist minister for 21 years religious editor of the Chicago Tribune, died. Dr. Norton was in his 79th year. He retired from active service on the Tribune in 1929.

### Rabbis Condemn War

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, which met recently at Cape May, N. J., adopted resolutions calling for neutrality legislation, national ownership of the munitions industry, and the elimination of required military training in schools and colleges.

# Olympic Failure Annoys Britain

**Public Debates Reasons For Nazi Victory—British Take Sides in Spanish War—Important New Books**

*(Correspondence from England)*

LONDON, Aug. 18.—Great Britain was left hopelessly behind in the Olympic games. It is not that its runners did poorly, but those of other countries did better, being, it would seem, more diligently trained and, so at least it is said, having the will to win. But if the fact is clear, some deductions from it are not accepted by our people. "This perfunctory showing," says the Observer, "with excuses ready to cover defeat, is unfortunately of a piece with the vagueness of mind and will that infects democracy upon many sides." The writer of the editorial proceeds to infer that the bolshevist and fascist governments may rob their peoples of certain political rights, but they do concentrate on bringing men and women to physical perfection. And they do this so that their subjects may be ready to defend their community. Over against this judgment may be placed the words in the New Statesman by R. H. S. Crossmann of New college, Oxford, who knows Germany well: "The [German] nation is homogeneously neurotic and religiously united to rush headlong into the abyss together." As he listened to the drums from the camps in Germany, he adds, "I had a queer feeling that history had moved back a thousand years and the mountain clans were gathering for the fight, huddling together round their campfires."

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### Opinion Split on Spanish Revolt

The same division between those who secretly or openly admire the fascist rule and those who still believe in liberty is seen in the comments on the Spanish revolt. One section of our press by fair means and foul is bent upon enlisting our indignation against the present Spanish government. It sought to excite passion last week by announcing that 30 Britons were detained as hostages. The statement was described on the radio as nonsense, but it had a start. The Spanish government is described as "red"; the "reds" are credited with all the atrocities of which Spain is the scene. There is little to choose between the "Christians" and the others in their cruelties. The implication is that we should take our side with the fascists against the irreligious "reds." At the same time, on Sunday in London at a labor demonstration representing the united front, busy with an attack on our government's new scales of relief, the demonstrators at the same time pledged assistance to the Spanish government in its "courageous and resolute struggle"; and protested the use of troops from Morocco. The British government is committed to three points: it supports wholeheartedly the French plan for neutrality; it urges strongly the acceptance of this plan upon Rome and Berlin; it has warned British people not to send help or to enlist in Spain and has said that if they do they must not expect any support from Britain.

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### What England is Reading

Every lover of poetry will await the new volume of the poems of A. E. Housman which his brother, Laurence Housman, is to edit. The poet left instructions that all his prose writings in whatever language were to be destroyed; but his brother was permitted to publish any poems which seemed to him complete and not inferior to the average of his published poems. All others were to be destroyed. Laurence Housman says that a great deal of the bitterness and anger in his brother's poetry is explained by the fact that he was grieved that the laws of God and man are not kinder.

The book most widely read at the moment, apart from fiction, is "News from Tartary" by Peter Fleming. Of writers on theological subjects mention must be made of two books by the dean of St. Paul's, one on "The Hope of Immortality," the other on "Our Faith in God." A series of radio talks, by Rev. John Whale, is published under the title "The Problem of Evil." Malcolm Spencer's "Economics and God" is a book which should be read and pondered. Those who know the inner history of such movements as "Copec" and "Life and Work" will not need to be told of the part which Malcolm Spencer played.

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### Plan to Regulate Fixed Trusts

Fixed trusts, known also as unit trusts, have been known here for only about five years. As the result of inquiry certain regulations will henceforth be applied to them. The committee of inquiry agrees that such trusts give the small investor facilities which he did not formerly enjoy; but there are dangers against which it is proposed to guard him. The committee demands first of all registration; it gives rules governing management and trusteeship, "the auditing of accounts, the disclosure of details and the general framework within which the trusts operate." That it is time to make such regulations may be seen from the fact that within less than five years units have been sold amounting to about £50,000,000.

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### And So Forth

Once more the trade figures are good. Exports in July were the highest since November, 1930, and this is due chiefly to the exports of manufactured goods. Imports are nearly 7 millions above the totals of last July.

It will be 60 years in October since Dr. Dinsdale Young of the Central hall, Westminster, began to preach. A celebration is to be held at which Lloyd George, Lord Wakefield and Canon "Dick" Sheppard are to speak.

The loaf is to cost a half-penny more this week. The quartern loaf will be 50 per cent dearer than in pre-war days. But there is no reason to expect any popular agitation.

The London university is moving its headquarters this week to Bloomsbury, where behind the British museum its new buildings are rising.

The pastoral letter issued after the Methodist conference in Newcastle calls

attention to the value for a religion of the ethical dividend that it pays. "Injustice is grit in the machine. You may oil it with benevolence and philanthropy, but until you get the grit out it will not work smoothly." But what if the machine itself is the source of the injustice?

Lord Lothian says of the league: "Nothing but a federation of nations, a federation in which the national state surrenders some part of its sovereignty to a common authority representing the whole, which alone can impose tariffs, can raise armies and navies and air forces, can levy taxes from and enforce its laws upon the individual, and which alone wields the powers of sovereignty within its own sphere, can end war and create a reign of law upon the earth."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

### Church Editor Dies

Dr. E. B. Chappell, one of the most influential leaders of the Southern Methodist church for a generation, died in Atlanta, Ga., on July 29. Dr. Chappell was Sunday school editor of his denomination for twenty-four years before his resignation in 1930. Well-known throughout religious education circles for his contributions to Sunday school work, he was hardly less conspicuous in other areas of the church's life. He was the author of a number of books, notably, "Studies in the Life of Wesley" and "Building the Kingdom." Two of his brothers, Dr. Clovis Chappell and Dr. A. C. Chappell, are prominent ministers in the Methodist church, and his son-in-law, Dr. W. A. Smart, is a professor at the divinity school of Emory University.

### Dr. William Adams Brown With Federal Council

Dr. William Adams Brown, who has just retired from a professorship at Union Theological seminary, which he had held for forty-four years, has become acting chairman of the Department of relations with churches abroad, an office which Dr. Cadman formerly held. Dr. Brown is now in Europe attending the Universal Christian council executive committee meeting at Chamby, Switzerland.

### Returned Traveler to Discuss New Soviet Constitution

Dr. J. C. Coleman, Methodist minister of Los Angeles, who has just returned from Russia, is to speak on "The Rights of Women and the New Soviet Constitution" at 8 o'clock, Friday evening, Sept. 11, in the Capitol building, Chicago. The meeting is under the auspices of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. There will be a 25 cent admission fee.

### Interdenominational Pastors' Conference to be Held

On September 15 and 16 ministers of all denominations with gather at Hartford for the Pastors' conference of the Connecticut valley, which is held each year jointly by the Pastoral union of Connecticut and Hartford Theological seminary. The principal speaker will be Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president of Colgate-Rochester divinity school. He will deliver five lectures on the theme, "The Function of the Preacher in Contemporary Life."

# TVA Progress Still Threatened

**Utilities Combine to Stop Project—Issue Will Be Settled Soon by Supreme Court**

*(Correspondence from the New South)*

NASHVILLE, TENN., Aug. 28.—Progress in TVA development continues to be threatened at the judge's bench. Nineteen companies have joined in injunction suits to halt municipal projects seeking to obtain TVA power. It will be recalled that the ruling of the supreme court some months ago was limited to Muscle Shoals, the great Wilson dam completed in 1925. It was built primarily to produce power for war purposes. The court ruled that the government has the right to sell surplus power on such a project, but did not pass on the validity of other dams in the TVA building program. Now the nineteen companies attack the validity of all other dam building on the plea that it is not designed for defense, flood control or navigation but for the primary purpose of producing and selling electric power in competition with private enterprise. Suit has been filed in Chattanooga seeking to stop the beginning of construction on the Chicamauga dam on the Tennesee river just above that city. It is technically brought to prevent the Authority from condemning a farm required for abutments. The suit of the nineteen companies, filed in Knoxville, charges that TVA rates are "dishonest, unfair, unreasonable and confiscatory." Suits have been filed in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Atlanta and in a number of smaller towns. Temporary injunctions have been granted in practically all cases but TVA has usually won in cases brought to a conclusion. The final question will be settled in the supreme court early in the autumn, it is hoped. Should suits now pending win verdicts for the companies, all construction and any further sale of power would be tied up. The issue is as to whether or not the dams at Chattanooga, Guntersville, Norris and on the smaller side streams are being built for defense, flood control and navigation or for the production of electric power; in other words, is the making of cheap power by a federal authority constitutional?

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### Companies Build "Spite" Lines

The latest strategem of the power companies is to string lines into the richer rural communities, prepare to "skim the cream" off the business where farmers are best able to pay and thus leave the poorer neighborhoods without hope of obtaining power and light. The mayor of the little city of Pulaski, in south central Tennessee, charges that after years of refusal to extend its lines into the country around that city, the Tennessee Electric Power Co. is now stringing wires, "selecting only the richest areas for its operation." He says his city contracted for TVA power with the specific understanding that the country around the town would hook up cooperatively owned rural lines with the system and that the utility company is attempting to thwart the undertaking. Such lines are coming to be called "spite lines" and promise plenty of warfare for the future. One farmer and poultryman in Rhea county, Tennessee, charges the utility company refused to build a line to his home, only a short distance, unless he paid $500 for its construction, the line to remain the company's property. Now, he says, they have built a two mile line without cost to the farmers "just to cut us off from TVA power." Down in Catoosa county, Georgia, a resident says he, together with ninety neighbors, had tried for five years to get the Georgia power company to build them a rural line; now with the threat of TVA power it has been built but "only in the richer neighborhoods." The genius of public ownership lies in public service and the cooperative rural electric organizations level the cost between the better-to-do and the poorer farmers.

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### Tri-Cities Enjoy Wilson Dam

After ten years of battle the tri-cities of Florence, Sheffield and Tuscumbia, right at the foot of Wilson dam, are now enjoying its benefits. After its franchise had expired and the citizens had voted unanimously to municipalize their plants and hook up to TVA power, the Alabama power company was able to tie them up in court proceedings. Now they have accepted 4% municipal bonds for their distributing systems on a valuation fair to both parties. The first act of the municipalities was to reduce rates by 35% and the increase in use is mounting so rapidly that, at the present rate, the entire bond issue will be retired within twenty-five years.

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### Utilities Doomed To Lose

Norris dam is now completed, the two great turbines are making their test runs and a contract has been made to supply the big aluminum factory at Alcoa, near Knoxville, with power through a 154,000 kilowatt line. One of the turbines can generate enough power to light the entire city of Knoxville, and the people there have been trying now for two years to enjoy the cheap rates it will offer; but their every move has been tied up by court injunctions. They voted the bonds and made a contract to purchase the private company's distributing system. Tied up on this they employed engineers to plan a new city built system only to have that forbidden. Now they must await the pleasure of the supreme court on the right of the people to make and sell their own power. In the end the people must win; there are 6,000,000 in the Tennessee valley who ask only that they be allowed to attend to their own business, and congress has overwhelmingly accorded them that privilege. Tennessee recently voted to retire the chairman of the state utility commission after twenty-eight years of service and will put in his place a radical enemy of all private utilities. Every democratic opponent and critic of the new deal has so far been defeated in southern primaries except Carter Glass and Joe Bailey and they have promised to "go along."

Meanwhile the work of the TVA in opening new rural lines—in which its greatest blessing lies—proceeds. Thousands of farm homes denied light and power, because it "did not pay" to build the lines, are leaping out of the "oil lamp" and

"hand work, drudgery" epoch into that of electricity. TVA has brought them fifty years of progress in a day. Last spring when flood waters threatened the lowlands at Chattanooga with losses estimated at $5,000,000, the dam at Norris impounded the flood, and then during the dry season water released from the Norris reservoir kept the flow at Wilson dam normal, the great turbines at work and barges on the river afloat. At every step and in every way TVA is making its work indispensable to a free people.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

### Garrett Institute Professor Dies

Prof. L. E. Fuller, of Garrett Biblical institute and Northwestern university, was drowned while fording the rapids of the Yukon river near the Arctic circle. Dr. Fuller, an experienced traveler, was making a long trip, part of it through territory never before visited by white men, through the wilds of northern Canada and Alaska, accompanied by his two sons and two other young men.

### New Professor at Berea

Walter W. Sikes, a minister in the Disciples church, and a graduate of Union Theological seminary and of Columbia university, has been elected professor of Bible at Berea college.

### Methodists Attend Chamby Meeting

Dr. Lynn Harold Hough and Dr. John Watchorn represented the Methodist Episcopal church at the meeting held in Chamby, Switzerland August 20-25, to make plans for the World conference on Christian life and work, to be held at Oxford, England, in the summer of 1937.

### Drinking Increases Number of Auto Accidents

Figures released by the National Safety council in "Accident Facts, 1936 Edition," show that the number of automobile accidents in which liquor is directly involved is on the increase. In 1933, of the total number of such accidents, 5 per cent of the drivers and 6 per cent of the pedestrians injured had been drinking. In 1934 the percentages went up to 6 per cent of the drivers and 8 per cent of the pedestrians. In 1935 it reached 7 per cent of the drivers and 9 per cent of the pedestrians. In 1935 automobile accidents in cities showed that 9 per cent of the drivers and 11 per cent of the pedestrians had been drinking.

### Southern Baptists Guard Sunday Schools Against Heresy

Speaking at Little Rock, Ark., on Aug. 27, J. N. Barnett, of the Southern Baptist Sunday school board, declared: "When textbooks on social service and social problems are permitted to enter the Sunday school that institution ceases to be a soul-winning agency and becomes the den of all forms of heresy."

### Evanston Minister Goes to Iowa City

Dr. Edwin E. Voigt, who has been associate pastor of the First Methodist church at Evanston, has been appointed minister of the First Methodist church in Iowa City. He will enter upon his new work on September 13.

# Germany Pleased With Olympics

**Large Investment Considered Justified —German Unity Promoted—"Menaces" Played Up**

*(Correspondence from Germany)*

FRANKFURT, Aug. 18th.—The Olympic games closed on Sunday last, and all Germany is pleased with the results. Perhaps, the number of foreigners (150,000, according to official figures) was not up to expectations, nor did they spend as much as had been anticipated on other things than meals and lodging. But in all else, the games were a glorious success. All who were in Berlin during the past fortnight must praise the German authorities for the masterly way in which everything was arranged. Traffic on both road and rail worked like clockwork, and in the games themselves there was not a single hitch—unless it was the failure of the Fuehrer's bodyguard to prevent an enthusiastic and importunate American woman admirer of Hitler's from getting both an autograph and a kiss from him at the Stadium, on the last day! This action was done with such a precision as bewildered the otherwise alert Blackshirt guards, who could never imagine an obedient German attempting such a thing.

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### Investment Considered Worthwhile

Germany, from the sport point of view, acquitted itself grandly, being at the head of the table with 33 gold, 26 silver and 30 bronze medals. The United States came next with 24, 20 and 12 medals respectively. Germany's results are undoubtedly the outcome of two years' steady concentration upon preparations for the games, and show clearly what state support, both financial and otherwise, can do in such matters. It is impossible to attempt to estimate what the games have cost this country. The sum of $2,500,000 mentioned in the press can only cover a small part of the total cost. But since many of the buildings such as the Olympic village are to be taken over by the reichswehr and other official organizations the investment is considered worthwhile.

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### Promoted Unity Of Germany

The games were also utilized as a means of bringing home to the German people themselves the lessons of national unity. Thousands of my fellow-countrymen were transported at ridiculously cheap cost by the "Strength through Joy" organization to Berlin. There, a special exhibition on "Germany" served as excellent propaganda both as to the great part played by German culture and invention in Europe's past and for the Third empire, which was represented as carrying on the great tradition. Both in this exhibition and in the one devoted to "Great Germans," the term "German empire" extended beyond the borders of the present republic, and important figures from Austria, Switzerland and the Baltic states were shown. So that to be "nationally-minded" today means thinking in terms of Pan-Germanism, as far as the nazis are concerned. Austria, for example, in another exhibition, was represented as the bulwark to the south against non-German peoples. The Berlin streets were also adorned with the arms and pictures of all the leading towns of Germany, so that all might feel the unification, which it is hoped will some day become real unity.

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### Nazi Party Congress About to Meet

Now that the games are over, German statesmen will turn again to consider European politics, and the outcome will probably show itself in the proclamations at the next nazi party congress to be held early in September in Nuremberg. Last year, the notorious anti-Jewish laws were there published to the world, the impotent reichstag having been summoned for the purpose of lifting their right hands in approval.

It is uncertain what will emerge from the city of Albert Duerer and Hans Sachs on this occasion, but it is sure that the world danger from bolshevism will not be omitted. It is disheartening to talk in these times to theological professors, still emphasizing to students and public that these are days in which salvation is necessary from one thing above all, viz., the Russian danger which Adolf Hitler is stemming with might and main, as the true defender of the faith. Alas, Siegfried, not Parsifal!

There are very few people today in Germany who can or dare discuss with their fellow-citizens the issues of war and peace in an objective way. The desire to see more than one side of a question is fast receding among my countrymen and the propaganda which makes the soviets the arch-enemy is successful because of the overwhelming weight of "material" which is poured out through the state-controlled press every day.

Canon R. L. Shepherd, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, so I am given to understand, has addressed an appeal to Herr Hitler to be allowed to speak publicly on the peace issues in this country.

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### Play Up Menace of Soviets and Masons

Reference by a Japanese correspondent to the amazing discoveries which the police in that country have made regarding the international machinations of the freemasons and of their Jewish connections suggest that Tokyo has been learning a little from this country. But it has still a long way to go. Only last week, an official lecturer of the nazi party was busy in my district enlightening the people, by means of cinema pictures, facsimiles of "documents, etc., as to what world masonry had done against Germany in 1914-18, how a secret meeting in Paris of freemasons from all parts of the world had drawn up the peace terms early in 1918, and how freemasonry was still organizing all its forces against the new Germany—probably by its charity collections!

The world outside may laugh at such things, but here young men and women have to sit and absorb all this stuff without a query, and have no reference books in which to ascertain whether it is really so or not. What a contrast to the work of the Historical school which gave Germany its international fame in the last century!

A. S. EKEN.

# Alliance Asks World Parley

**At Swiss Gathering, Church Peace Body Requests League of Nations to Call Economic Meet**

*(Special Correspondence)*

GENEVA, Aug. 20.—The World Alliance for international friendship through the churches has just held a meeting under the deepening shadows of threatened war over Europe. The management committee spent five days (Aug. 14-19) at Chamby, Switzerland, not only to take stock of and assess the seriousness of the present world situation, but to devise ways and means by which the churches and church people can help to avert the disaster.

Representatives were present from 25 nations and, in addition, a number of distinguished visitors. The Protestant as well as the Eastern Orthodox churches were represented by high officials. The meetings were presided over by Dr. William P. Merrill of New York and the archbishop of Novi Sad, Jugoslavia. Bishop Ammundsen of Denmark gave a comprehensive and searching analysis of present world conditions and the churches' responsibility.

"The world is living in dread of another catastrophe probably unparalleled in horror," Bishop Ammundsen declared. "The statesmen did not realize that the idea of the League of Nations could not simply be annexed to the remnants of the old political system which was responsible for the great war, but required a totally new conception of the relation of the states to one another and to the central organ above them. The failure to achieve general disarmament, whatever may be the responsibility of the different states, was the most significant proof that the new spirit had not got hold of the nations. The league as an incarnation of the idea of international cooperation and justice is incompatible with unlimited national armaments."

### *Principles for Church Peace Work*

The alliance discussed at length the questions raised by this paper and agreed upon these conclusions:

1. Social and international work shall neither be isolated from the regular activity of the church nor attempt to replace it.

2. The church must strive to establish a world order in accordance with the law of God. The kingdom of Christ is the ideal, and it is always above the best human organizations.

3. Christian work for peace is based on the great truths of the gospel. The church and Christian people find in Christ a unity higher than national bonds. Each council of the alliance must feel the responsibility for conditions in its own nation. Work for a new and more perfect international order must not be given up even in the darkest hour.

World peace cannot be established without the cooperation and help of religion. All agree to this proposition even if some define religion in such a way as to exclude the church. Communism and fascism have become today the religion of millions of people, especially the youth, in many lands. The enthusiasm engendered by these economic and political systems is making them most powerful influences with which we must reckon. These systems also prove to the church and church people that if our work for social betterment and world peace is to succeed, it must be based on a realistic appreciation of the causes from which wars arise.

### *Appeal to League of Nations*

The conference came to the unanimous conclusion that there are so many adjustments to be made and so many questions to be answered that no "piecemeal" reorganization of the league could really effect the changes necessary. *The world must take a new start.* Hence the alliance took a strong position in this matter and passed the following resolution:

"The intense and increasing gravity of the world situation, and the present failure to deal effectively with the causes of conflict between states, impel us, representatives of Christian churches in 24 countries, assembled Aug. 18, 1936 at Chamby sur Montreux, Switzerland, as the management committee of the World Alliance for international friendship through the churches, to place on record the following decisions:

"1. A new and better beginning in world affairs is essential. Adjustments in the structure and procedure of the League of Nations will be useful, but more is needed. A different spirit is required, a spirit which aims at effective services of the common good. We believe that the solution of the world problem is to be sought in the Christian faith, whence comes the power to change the motive and direction of personal and public activity.

"2. A way must be found to bring under impartial survey the economic grievances and other inequities out of which the anxieties and fears of nations grow and which account in large measure for the fateful race in armaments.

"We urge that the League of Nations, acting in conjunction with those states not included in its membership, should convene, after due preparation but at the earliest practicable date, a world conference on these subjects, open to all states. Protective tariffs and financial obstacles to world-trade, inability to obtain raw materials and an outlet for excess populations, and the future administration of colonial possessions and mandated territories would necessarily be among the subjects with which such a conference should deal. As regards the colonial problem we hold strongly that a primary consideration should be the welfare of the races who inhabit the territories concerned.

"3. We recognize that a special responsibility rests on the Christian churches in this hour. Hence we ask that the churches urge upon their several governments the necessity for such a world conference, whether convened by the League of Nations or under other auspices. Each of our national councils should take early action in this matter.

"Lastly, we venture, associating ourselves directly with the request, to ask that prayer be made to the God and Father of us all that he would kindle in us, and in all men, the spirit of true repentance for evil done, and a steadfast will to seek in mutual service the wellbeing of mankind."

The alliance voted to cooperate in the "Rassemblement Universal pour la Paix"


# 3 Ways to Use "THE STORY OF THE BIBLE"

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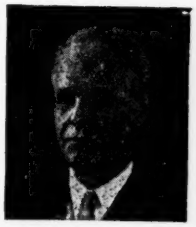

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## The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

### Grand Jury

(Fred Stone) (RKO) Grand jury, controlled by gang-leader, fails to indict cold-blooded killer. A blundering old man fumbles around until he forces indictment—but Fred Stone cannot make the stupid role very funny. Overdone newspaper stuff and sinister gunmen can't give it life.

For A: Amateurish. For Y: Harmless. For C: Little interest.

### Last of the Mohicans

(Randolph Scott) (Reliance) Fine picturization of classic, notable for accuracy in story, settings and convincing characters. True to times, it is appealing, thrilling and terrifying by turns. Good example of how much more a picture can do than even Cooper's words.

For A: Fine of kind. For Y: Very good. For C: Too strong.

### Romeo and Juliet

(Brilliant cast) (MGM) Splendid screening of Shakespeare, with beauty, fidelity and power, the dialogue exclusively his. Sets and costumes nearly flawless. Acting of finest, except Barrymore. Norma Shearer wonderful. Further cutting desirable, but masterpiece now. Merits great success.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Excellent. For C: Mature.

### Satan Met a Lady

(W. William, B. Davis) (Warner) Theft and murder made breezy and smart-aleck to point of absurdity. Crooked detective-hero hires out to various crooks and double-crossing makes the action. Sex and money sole motivations and not a decent character in story.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

### Sing, Baby, Sing

(Alice Faye, A. Menjou) (Fox) Supposedly satirical farce-comedy, mainly slapstick and burlesque, that tries desperately to be funny, with Menjou doing absurd role absurdly. Eked out by raucous dialogue, vaudeville stunts, and Alice Faye's "singing." Unintelligent production.

For A: Stupid. For Y: Not good. For C: No.

### Star for a Night

(Jane Darwell) (Fox) Appealing, unpretentious, realistic comedy of an adorable, blind German mother whose three children come to America and lie to her about success. She comes over, regains sight, and restores sanity to all. Jane Darwell makes the picture.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Good. For C: Fair.

### Texas Rangers

(MacMurray, Oakie, Nolan) (Para) Skilfully glorified western offered as "epic of 1883." Large scale thrills, Indian battles, and much about noble service of rangers. Hero, one of three bandit pals, joins rangers to get pal tips on robberies—but reforms in time for moral ending.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Good of kind. For C: Very exciting.

### Walking on Air

(Gene Raymond, Ann Sothern) (RKO) Well-acted, hilarious stuff about self-willed heroine subdued by understanding parents and engaging, radio-singing hero, first hired by heroine to force parents to let her marry another. Amusing, but why have Ann "sing"?

For A: Good. For Y: Very good. For C: Perhaps.

### Best Recent Films for Family:

Dancing Pirate
Gentle Julia
Two in Revolt
Charlie Chan at Racetrack
Poppy
China Clipper

### Films of Special Interest to Adults:

Green Pastures
To Mary—With Love
Girl's Dormitory
Road to Glory
Mary of Scotland
My American Wife

### BOOKS RECEIVED

Spring Up, O Well, by Dorothy Ruth Kahn. Henry Holt, $2.75.

Moscow Skies, A Novel, by Maurice Hindus. Random House, $2.75.

Knowing the Bible, by Raymond C. Knox. Macmillan, $2.50.

Vital Peace, A Study of Risks, by Henry Wickham Steed. Macmillan, $2.75.

The Structure of Religious Experience, by John Macmurray. Yale University Press, $1.50.

Metternich, by H. Du Coudray. Yale University Press, $4.00.

Medicine and Mankind, edited by Iago Galdston. Appleton-Century, $2.00.

Far Forest, by Francis Brett Young. Reynal & Hitchcock, $2.50.

Rich Land, Poor Land, by Stuart Chase. Whittlesey House, $2.50.

The Honourable Company, A History of the Hudson's Bay Company, by Douglas MacKay. Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75.

Voltaire, by Alfred Noyes. Sheed & Ward, $3.50.

The Heart Awakes, by M. B. Kennicott. Houghton Mifflin, $2.50.

Christ's Adventurers Who Changed History, by Charles S. Muir. Revell, $1.00.

Brown Goes, by Burdette Boardman Brown. Revell, $1.75.

"I Am Jesus" and Other Sermons, by J. C. Massee. Zondervan, $1.00.

*Preaching Christ in Corinth, by Klaas Jacob Stratemeier. Zondervan, $1.00.*


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The minister of the First Baptist Church of Rahway, New Jersey, has had unusual opportunity to study the art of worship. He not only worshipped and later studied under masters of that art, but his father, William A. Goldsworthy, is organist in the famous St. Marks-in-the-Bowerie where the author spent some years collaborating with him in working out the forms of worship used by Dr. William Norman Guthrie. The author regards worship as the prime factor in the Christian life and deprecates the extremes of go-as-you-please informality and freakishness in the church service. Worship involves form but must retain sincerity, naturalness and vitality. His book will be found valuable both by ministers in liturgical and in "free" congregations. He includes children's worship, music and the use of drama in his simple but comprehensive presentation. *(To be published September 15. $1.50)*

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